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ABSTRACT

This partially annotated and selected bibliography lists several hundred publications on the topics of gender and gender and education at the global level and in countries located in the following areas: Sub-Saharan Africa, North Africa and the Middle East, Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central and East Asia, Latin America, and Tropical Island zones. Annotations including fairly detailed summaries are included for 60 publications. The vast majority of the books and papers cited are written in English. A few French and Spanish publications that are considered key sources on gender and education and development have also been included. A sampling of the topics covered in the various publications is as follows: access to education; adult education; agriculture; AIDS; attainment; basic education; capitalism; careers; caste; child bearing; civic education; class; coeducation; constraints; curriculum; distance learning; divorce; dropouts; employment; enrollment; family; famine; fertility; formal education; health; higher education; households; illiteracy; income; industry; jobs; labor market; labor supply law; literacy; adult literacy; marriage; nonformal education; patriarchy; politics; poverty; religion; reproduction; rural education; schools; women's status; stereotyping; teachers; trade unions; training schemes; urban education; vocational education; women and work; women's associations; and women's rights. Author, country, and theme indexes are included. (MN)

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GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A PARTIALLY ANNOTATED AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A PARTIALLY ANNOTATED AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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with

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DEPARTMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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No. 15 Gray, L. Warrender, A.M. Davies, P. Hurley, G. Manton, C. 1995 'LABOUR MARKET SIGNALS & INDICATORS' ISBN: 0 902500 70 8

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Wynd, S. 1995 'FACTORS AFFECTING GIRLS' ACCESS TO SCHOOLING IN NIGER'

Phillips, D. Arnhold, N. Bekker, J. Kersh, N. McLeish, E. 1996 'EDUCATION FOR RECONSTRUCTION'

Rosenberg, D. 1996 'AFRICAN JOURNAL DISTRIBUTION PROGRAMME: EVALUATION OF 1994 PILOT PROJECT'

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There are, however, just a few people we do wish to identify and thank on the record for their special support. Firstly there are our researchers Ruth Aedo-Richmond, Aparna Narayanan and Rose Njoroge who have made very significant contributions, not only in respect of their general input to the work, but also in terms of their insights and expertise on Latin America, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa respectively. Secondly, our secretarial support has been equally vital, and here we would especially wish to record our thanks to Jennifer Webster. Finally, the index of any academic document is the first port of call for most users, and for compiling this important element of the publication we thank Shirley Brock.

Inevitably there will be some oversights and significant omissions in a work of this kind. The theme is a massive one, still attracting a great deal of interest, as it should. We take full responsibility for any shortcomings, and hope that readers will notify us of important, readily available sources that have not been listed here. Hopefully they may be included in a subsequent update of the list and the annotations.

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INTRODUCTION

In theory a bibliography on the interconnected issues of gender, education and development could embrace a massive temporal and spatial scale: millennial and global. In practice there has to be selection, and this publication resides within a range of parameters that determines its rationale.

The initial step in this rationale is the motivation for its compilation, which is to follow up the ODA Research Report of 1991 on Factors Affecting Female Participation in Education in Six Developing Countries. (That report has been revised, updated and reissued at the same time as this study.). Such a description immediately limits the range of nation states involved but also introduces problems of definition. Conventions such as 'Third World', 'Developing Countries' and 'The South' are all imperfect as the extremely disparate rates of development both between and within countries that tend to fall within such categories continue to deepen and diverge. Rather than seek to resolve this problem, we have decided to rest with traditional regional groupings as listed on the contents page above. All could be contentious, but are at least easily recognised, with real problems existing only on the margins and interfaces, where we have made arbitrary decisions as to inclusion or exclusion. In areas where in recent decades there has been massive economic growth in some countries, for example the Middle East and South East Asia, we have decided to include all component states despite the fact that there are levels of development in such places that exceed those of most parts of the traditionally perceived 'industrialised world'.

Consequently the main frame structure of the bibliography is that of single traditional regional groupings of nation states, before which there is a section comprising selected publications that seek to address one or more of the related issues on a global scale. Within each regional grouping we begin with items that operate at that scale, for example 'Latin America' or 'Sub-Saharan' Africa, before proceeding with the component nation-states in alphabetical order. No significance at all is ascribed to the order in which regions, and therefore countries, appear in this bibliography.

Within this broad geographical framework we have then operated a number of criteria in the selection of items to be included. This is in no respect an exhaustive list and does not pretend to be so. A key plank in the rationale is that it should be useful, therefore useable, within the limited time frame within which it may expect to be a 'contemporary resource'. We have therefore placed severe limitations in respect of language, periodisation and availability, again using arbitrary parameters for clear and practical reasons.

The vast majority of items are in English, though where, on occasions, what we reckon to be a key source is published in either French or Spanish, we have included them.

In general we have included only selected items published since 1975. The mid 1970s saw the emergence of a significant body of literature on gender, especially in the USA and then Europe, but it was in the 1980's that the connection with development becomes more apparent, with a surge of activity in respect of gender issues in developing countries.

The issue of availability, admittedly a relative concept, has also informed our selection and inevitably reflects the target audience. While it is hoped that this bibliography will be of interest to academics from a variety of disciplines it is, like the report from which it has grown, also intended for a wider professional readership. Especially in mind are those who are charged with the formation and operation of policy in respect of the issue of gender in educational provision, and also those in the service of governments or NGOs who work in this field. So most entries are published by well known companies or institutions and should not be too difficult to trace. They range from books and reports through journal articles and, occasionally, to pamphlets. We are aware that a vast range of additional material has been produced during the two decades in question, often by active groups within particular countries, but we have had to be deliberately highly selective on grounds of wider accessibility. Consequently locally produced publications in developing countries, probably numbered in the thousands in global terms and of obvious significance in particular situations, have not in general been included.

There are considerable differences in the amount of material available from zone to zone and country to country. In some cases it has been necessary to cull severely, but where few items appeared to be available selection has been less stringent. Some countries have been omitted entirely because no easily accessible material appeared to be available, although in such cases some significant documentation almost certainly exists.

The selection of some publications for annotation has also been based on the same range of criteria as described above in respect of the bibliographical list. It was thought most useful to the reader to locate the annotations at the end of each regional grouping rather than as a completely separate section of the publication, as many readers will have region-specific interests. Here again, selection has been made largely on the issue of the items being informative and capable of practical interpretation and therefore import. Obscure discourses have been excluded, and the treatment of all items selected for annotation has been such as to render information to the reader rather than deep criticism. Given the vast range of locations and cultures involved it would have been improper to do otherwise.

While taking full responsibility for the selection, we have been significantly constrained by the nature of the literature that is readily available in the sense described above. The global and regional material, as well as a fair proportion of the country specific items, focus on gender or gender and development. Publications that focus on education in relation to issues of gender constitute a minority, albeit for us a significant one. This is an interesting issue in itself. Does the virtual absence of educational discourse in relation to gender and development books and articles represent a calculated decision on the part of the authors, editors and publishers involved, or is it simply a function of intellectual and academic specialisation? Most such publications are edited, and contributed to, by social scientists of one hue or another. Perhaps their analysis of the situation includes the realisation that the role of formal education in the development process is a second order issue, following the satisfaction of certain cultural and infrastructural imperatives? This may well be a fair position to take in respect of the formal mode, but while non-formal dimensions of education and training are more visible in the global and regional literature especially, they are still at the margins of the discussion. It would seem that international and comparative educators still have a great deal to do to effect interaction and dialogue with their social science counterparts involved in issues of gender and development.

Be that as it may, the outcome in respect of this bibliography is that we have decided to divide the lists relating to global regional and national categories into two sections: gender, and gender and education. The relative incidence of each in terms of individual cases varies considerably, but as this would appear to reflect current and recent attitudes and approaches we have not attempted to adjust this imbalance to any significant degree. Rather, we hope that inter alia this will interest the social scientists and the educationists in each other's literature on an important issue of mutual concern that is central to the development process.

GLOBAL

Gender

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ANNOTATIONS

ACKER, S. et al (1984) **World Yearbook of Education 1984: Women and Education,** Kogan Page, London.

The articles on gender and education in this collection cover both developed and developing countries but there are useful case-studies on Jamaica (Hamilton and Leo-Rhynie), Malaysia (Fatimah Hamid Don), Egypt (Cynthia Nelson), and India (Carolyn Elliott). Two more general articles on aspects of gender and education in developing countries are particularly interesting. Maxine Molyneux, writing in 'Strategies for the emancipation of women in Third World socialist societies', (p. 268-278), shows how women's legal, economic and social position has been improved in socialist states such as China, Cuba, Democratic Yemen or Soviet Central Asia, even though they have not yet attained full equality with men. Where a state is committed to planned economic development and there is a comparatively high level of social welfare, employment opportunities for women are more likely to be developed. However, "For socialist states, the emancipation of women is not so much a goal in itself but is, rather, pursued chiefly insofar as it contributes to the achievement of the wider goals of economic development and socialist reconstruction", (p. 270). The pre-revolutionary social order is seen by socialist states as an obstacle to economic development and social reform. They see women's importance in the period of social and economic transformation as helping to achieve three goals -

- to extend political support
  Women need to be drawn into political activity so that, politicised, they will cooperate in the process of social transformation. Their politicization challenges ancient customs and carries the revolution into the heart of the family.

- To increase and improve the labour supply
  Once familial constraints are eased, women form a large reserve of potential employees or voluntary workers.

- to reconstruct the family
  "When revolutionary governments outlaw institutions such as polygamy, the bride-price, child marriage, and discrimination against women in property settlements, they are not doing so only to emancipate women, but also to hasten the disappearance of the pre-existing social order as a whole," (p.272).

The two main policies usually pursued are family reform and the expansion of female educational opportunities. Although these bring about rapid change, the family remains a locus of inequality between the sexes - women are still responsible for housework and childcare, while being expected to participate fully in wage employment and political life. Women tend to have lower paid jobs too.

As Molyneux says - "legal reforms and Party proclamations will not, in themselves, suffice to enable women to attain equality with men," (p. 276).

The second article, Gail Kelly's 'Women's access to education in The Third World: myths and realities', (p. 82-89) is important in that it questions the assumptions that it is social background, cultural and religious milieu and the level of economic development in a country that influence women's access to education. Such assumptions lead to the view that women's access to schooling is independent of government policy towards women's education and school provision. Kelly argues that the greatest factor influencing female access to education is whether schooling is made available and accessible and what type of schooling is offered. These factors are matters of public policy and "therefore amenable to change," (p. 82).

AFSHAR, Haleh (ed) (1996) **Women and Politics in the Third World,** Routledge, London and New York.

The editor of this book is a distinguished academic in the field of gender and development, and gender studies in general, and it is therefore no surprise to find this excellent addition to her range of publications. It adds a strong element to the literature in respect of the contribution of political science to the study of this area of enquiry.

While recognising in the introduction of this book the increased recognition of women's contribution to other dimensions of the development process, the editor makes a strong initial case for greater acknowledgment of their increasing role in the political arena at various levels. The fact that relatively few women even now are evident in positions of high power and leadership, especially in the West, leads to the generally Western-centred academic analysis of politics, ignoring women in developing countries and leaving them on the periphery of the discourse. As Afshar puts it: "Western feminisms negated Third World women's choices of paths of political activism which used the local prevalent ideologies and were often located within religious or maternal discourses".

So the object of this collection is to "bring Third World women to the centre of the political analysis, "and to illustrate that, "Their forms of negotiation with the state must not be equated with weakness nor should their strategies be classified as either temporary or unimportant." Contributions to this volume fall into two categories: those that are global or regional, and those that are country specific. The first, comprising four chapters includes three broad analyses of roles played by women in the Third World political arena, while the fourth concentrates on their resistance to authoritarianism in Latin America and South Asia. The country-specific chapters therefore form the majority of the book, but concentrate on just four cases, three of which are from Asia with two chapters each (China, Iran and Palestine), leaving the remaining chapters to a Nicaraguan subject.

The quality of the contributions is everywhere of a high order and sub-themes range across a number of issues, including: the politics of aid (Nicaragua); the politics of reform (China); fertility behaviour (China); fundamentalism (Iran); constraint (Iran); the national struggle (Palestine); the Intifada (Palestine). Given the title, the absence of African discussion, except in the global papers to some extent, is unfortunate and renders the title somewhat misleading. South Asia - the other major poverty zone - is also hardly represented.

Nonetheless, some of the excellent discussions have possibilities for generalising across the Third World, and in any case, the main objective is to point up the political dimension, and the significant involvement in it by many women in developing countries.

BAGLA-GOKALP, Lusin (1990) **Les femmes et l'éducation de base. Etude spéciale pour la conférence mondial sur l'éducation pour tous, Thaïlande mars 1990** UNESCO, Paris.

Chapter 1 of this wide-ranging survey examines the arguments for women's rights to education. The impact of female education on birth-rates, for example, is discussed, with evidence of the disparity between the experiences of various parts of the world and the contributory influence of numerous other social factors, apart from education. The "inter-generational effect" of women's education is examined in terms of the well-being and health of children, their cognitive development, and their schooling (particularly that of girls). Chapter 2 *La Situation des femmes dans l'éducation de base* is a good source of facts and figures on literacy rates for women and girls, the impact of world economic recession on basic education, and drop-out and wastage. Chapter 3 summarises various projects on girls' education in a variety of countries.

Chapter 4 *Les facteurs qui influencent la scolarité* is a substantial study of the following factors:

- socio-economic and cultural constraints
  - poverty
  - early marriage
  - locus of authority
  - control of sexuality
  - family systems (eg patrilocal)
  - sexual division of labour

- Problems of infrastructure and services
  - access (roads, transport)
  - buildings
  - incomplete educational systems
  - teachers (supply and quality)
  - lack of single-sex schools for girls

- Inappropriate types of education
- Inequalities within education itself

The final chapter makes a series of suggestions for possible action and intervention to improve girls' chances in education. The author points out that central political change is usually ineffective because of regionally disparity and that equally changes at school level alone are insufficient to ensure real progress. A pluridimensional and integrated approach is needed. Firstly, quality education adapted to the environment should be the aim: good quality buildings and resources should be provided in rural areas, systems with multiple entry points and opportunities to catch up should be developed and national policy on education should be flexible in local circumstances. "Une politique participatoire" should involve villages in the building of schools and planning curriculum and materials to fit in with community development. Non-formal education should be part of community development programmes.

There is a need to improve the image of the school (a school building should reflect its importance) and to develop a climate of security and confidence, especially as far as women teachers in rural areas are concerned. Motivating and convincing parents is also essential. Girls' education should be encouraged by adapting to parental wishes, providing for example single-sex education if this is what is wanted. To encourage poorer parents to send their girls to school, not only must the fee problem be removed but indirect costs need to be considered: where girls would otherwise be looking after younger siblings, pre-school provision and family allowances can both help. It is important too to make girls feel at ease within the school environment. The provision of separate toilets, awareness-training for teachers, the revision of sex-stereotyped textbooks and the introduction of female role-models into school would all help. Resources need to be equitably shared so that boarding places and scholarships are available to girls as well as boys. Job discrimination laws and good careers advice are needed to provide equality of opportunity in the jobs market.

BOWN, Lalage (1990), **Preparing the Future: Women, Literacy and Development,** Actionaid, Chard, UK.

This is a report prepared in order to focus attention on the impact of female literacy on human development and the participation of literate women in change. As the author puts it: "The main threads of the enquiry have been the effect of literacy on women's preparation for the future and on their capacity to emerge from being the shadows of other people."

It is necessary for the concept of literacy to be examined, and it is clearly explained that literacy is not a single unified competence, nor is it a fixed measurable achievement. Nonetheless, it is possible to recognise illiteracy and it would appear to be a growing problem overall, and with the gap between males and females widening to the further disadvantage of the latter. In order to get closer to the realities, a number of case studies are examined, especially to ascertain what kind of returns might be expected from an improvement in female literacy rates. Such returns are discussed in respect of social effects (increased participation in education and health initiatives); economic effects (greater capacity to mobilise credit and participate in business initiatives), personal effects (greater influence on family decisions and willingness to participate in community activity). It is recommended that the female dimension should be highlighted in development projects funded by multilateral and bilateral donors, and that popular, or basic education be promoted. The issue of self-realisation and self-belief is central to any improvement that may be enjoyed. All these matters are well illustrated with detailed reference to field examples and experiences from Asia, Africa and Latin America. These cases are interwoven within the thematic chapters and thus relate well to theoretical considerations.

Despite the evidence collected and reported on here, the author concludes that there is still a great deal to be discovered. For example: does literacy have an impact on the life-expectancy of mothers? how far is literacy an ingredient in the sustainability of women's economic ventures? how far could women's literacy improve agriculture in countries where women play a large part in farming? what effect does literacy have on women's budgeting and spending patterns/ how does literacy affect women's care for the environment? what is the interaction between schooled women and women gaining literacy in adulthood in movements for social change? Much of the existing evidence of some progress is based on short term, small scale project outcomes, but the more important dimension is the longer term. More research is needed, but at least there is widespread evidence of the significance of literacy for development, and in particular of female literacy.

KING, Elizabeth M and Hill, M. Anne (1993), **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies,** The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.

This book examines the education of women in developing countries from an economic perspective, both in terms of the then current situation and in terms of prospects for the future. The Foreward by Lawrence Summers, who has also examined this issue and is listed in this bibliography, contains telling introductory statistics about the 100 million or so "missing women" who in effect do not survive the rigours of the Third World. As he puts it: "Whereas women comprise 52.5 percent of the population in the industrial world, they account for only 51 per cent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa, less than 48 per cent in East Asia, and less than 47 per cent in South Asia".

Such a situation correlates with indications surrounding the issue of educational disadvantage: that is to say, poorer cultures tend to view girls as less valuable than boys in that they may be less capable to perform physical labour - and yet they are called upon to do exactly that.

There are eight chapters. The first two comprise an overview of women's education in developing countries, and an analysis of the returns to women's education. These are followed by five regional chapters: Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia and East Asia. All contain detailed data on the economic and educational condition of their respective regions, and polices implemented in respect of the education of women and girls. The final chapter concentrates on lessons to be had from the experiences outlined before and selects a number of desirable aims: expanding access to schools; providing culturally appropriate facilities; recruiting female teachers; reducing direct costs; reducing opportunity costs; increasing the benefits; alleviating poverty; making interventions more successful. The writers conclude that while local initiatives are important and local research is needed to provide insights into the determinants of female disadvantage in particular contexts, broad policies also make a difference: "For example, the more the government supports primary education, the greater the relative benefits to girls because girls are more likely than boys to quit school after primary level." Such an assessment fits well with the post-Jomtien thrust for basic educational development and the likely returns from investing in it.

MOMSEN, Janet and KINNAIRD,Vivian (1993) **Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America,** Routledge, London and New York.

A number of disciplines contribute to the study of educational issues in international and comparative perspective, and so it is with geography and gender studies. This volume is a contribution to the latter by exponents of the former.

In the developing world today the subordinated position of women is exacerbated not only by patriarchal attitudes but also by economic crisis and the legacy of colonialism. The traditional model for women has been housework and childcare. However, new socio-economic demands and individual motivation have created new opportunities.

Different places, Different Voices analyses the changing lives of the women in the South through the voices of female geographers from the developing world. An emphasis on location and positionality highlights the differences created by place, and challenges much of the feminist and post-colonial scholarship of the West.

The focus on place, with country-specific studies within individual regions, results in a natural grouping by continent of the chapters within the book and emphasises the diversity of identities. The twenty case studies present regional perspectives by Third World geographers on aspects of urban and rural development, household reproduction and production and community organisation. There is a balanced coverage of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania with contextual and theoretical introductions to each continent by local leading feminist geographers.

Many topics covered within the case studies fall within established geographical fields of enquiry - human/environment relations, demographic analysis and migration; others exemplify the broad range of issues as part of a 'new geography' that is bold in embracing new areas of enquiry and methodology. It is relevant beyond the particular interests and approaches of geographers and is certainly useful in respect of development studies, women's studies, sociology and anthropology. Although there are brief regional commentaries at the beginning of each section (Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia and Oceania, Latin America), almost every chapter is country-specific, though in fact only fifteen countries are actually represented. Countries favoured with multiple chapters are: India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Bolivia and Colombia.

NUSSBAUM, Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (1995), **Women, Culture and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities,** Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This substantial volume (480 pages) is a major contribution to the convergence of philosophical and economic analysis in respect of gender, and development policy. From a variety of philosophical positions the 25 contributors proceed to provide considerable support for the 'capabilities' approach pioneered by Amartya Sen, who is in fact also a contributor. A sense of realism and practical consensus is promoted by the decision of the editors to preface the various discourses with a major case study by Martha Chen entitled: 'A Matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh'. As the writer of the foreword (Lal Jayawardena) puts it: "The problems of women in developing countries call urgently for new forms of analysis and for an approach that moves beyond utilitarian economics to identify a number of distinct components of a human being's quality of life, including life-expectancy, maternal mortality, access to education, access to employment, and the meaningful exercise of political rights. Even when a nation seems to be doing well in terms of GNP per capita, its people may be doing poorly in one or more of these areas. This is especially likely to be the case for women, who have been treated unequally in many traditional societies, and who nowhere enjoy, on average, a 'quality of life' equal to that of men, when this is measured by the complex standard recommended by the 'capabilities' approach."

The book is structured into four parts, the first being the aforementioned case study. The second is focused on: 'Women's Equality: Methodology, Foundations' and includes discussion of, for example; human capabilities, development elites, justice, pragmatism, democracy and rationality, cultural complexity and moral interdependence. The third has to do with: 'Women's Equality: Justice, Law and Reason', comprising contributions on gender inequality and theories of justice; inequalities and cultural context; gender, caste and law; emotions and women's capabilities. Finally, part four takes on 'Regional Perspectives' with examples from China, Mexico, India and Nigeria. So the volume as a whole contributes in a balanced way as across the major components of the developing world and adds greatly to the ongoing work of the Quality of Life Project of which it is a part.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

General

Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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ANNOTATIONS

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

General

HAY, Margaret Jean & STICHTER, Sharon (eds.) (1995), **African Women South of the Sahara**, Longman Group. Essex.

The main purpose of the book is to explore the range of variations in women's social and political positions in sub-Saharan Africa, taking into account two important factors: firstly, the great variety of traditional social arrangements; secondly, how historical forces, for example, European colonial conquest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Arab/Islamic penetration have influenced the contemporary situation of women.

The material in the book is organized in such a way that it provides an overview on the women of sub-Saharan Africa. It is an introductory interdisciplinary text, written from a number of disciplines but set in a historical context.

The contributions by various writers are divided into three main topics, namely:

(i) African women in the economy
(ii) African women in society and culture
(iii) Women in politics and policy.

The first three chapters address the issue of African women in the economy by describing the activities in which women engage themselves in both in urban and rural areas. The activities are viewed in terms of production, distribution and reproduction. This section provides: first, a summary of the impact of pre-colonial socio-economic structures, colonial changes and post-colonial trends on contemporary women's work and welfare; second, a discussion of contemporary variations in women's rural economic roles and how they are attached to the world economy; thirdly, description of various occupations of urban women in various cities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The next six chapters provide an investigation into the question of African women in society and culture. This section deals with various factors, such as the changing African family, inheritance law, religion and secular ideology, the arts, African literature, and voluntary associations. This has been done by describing the women's associations and complex roles within the extended structures in the African customary and kinship organizations as well as the situation in the modern world.

The third topic concerns African women both as active in politics and as objects of public policy. This includes issues relating to the political roles that women have taken in both indigenous and modern societies, their participation in national liberation movements in various countries in the Sub-Saharan region especially from the 1960s when most people in Africa were fighting for political independence, the impact of developmental policies on women, health, and contraception and technological issues. Structural adjustment programmes and their effect on women in the region under discussion have also been included. Illustrations from different countries have been used throughout the book in discussing women's social, economic, health and political issues.

ODAGA Odhiambo and HENEVELD, Ward, (1995) **Girls and Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action**, World Bank Technical Paper No. 298, Africa Technical Department Series, World Bank, Washington D.C.

The central focus of this study is to formulate an operational gender perspective for reference in educational planning, programming, management, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation across Sub-Saharan Africa.

In an effort to achieve this objective, research findings in the last five (5) years on the constraints that girls experience in schools in this region have been summarized indicating the status of female education and factors that generally constrain girls' education. Under the section dealing with the status of female education, research findings on access, persistence, literacy and access to employment are summarized.

The findings on the factors that affect female education have been grouped into three, that is: socio-cultural and socio-economic factors; factors related to the school environment; and political and institutional factors. Under the first group, direct cost of schooling, opportunity cost of girls' education, attitude of parents/families on girls' education, initiations and religion are highlighted. With regard to the second group of constraints which concern school environment, the following factors have been outlined: distance to school, teachers' attitude, curricula and learning materials, sexual harassment , pregnancy, girls' expectations and motivation. In the third group, problems dealing with financing and management of education, the limited involvement of women in development initiatives, and political instability are summarized. The above factors have further been grouped into two as: demand-side and supply-side factors. The demand-side factors include the factors that limit the demand for female education, that is, socio-cultural and socio-political factors. The supply-side factors are viewed as those that reinforce gender inequalities by strengthening stereotypes about female roles and low academic expectations, that is, school related and political and institutional factors.

Key areas that require interventions and research have been noted. The study also offers suggestions and approaches that can be used to reduce the gender gap in access to education, attainment and achievement in the region. An overview of programs and projects that are already in the stage of implementation has been provided.

The importance of moving from analysis to action has also been given prominence. An approach for identifying and planning effective interventions has been offered. Set questions for assessing gender issues in education at the local and national levels have been provided. At the local level the questions are for assessing households, the school, the community, and participant groups, such as students and teachers. At the national level, questions are for assessing policy and macro-development planning.

BROWNE, A.W. & BARRETT, H.R. (1991) 'Female education in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Key to development ?', **Comparative Education**, 27(3), p. 275-285.

Browne & Barrett bring together clearly the three themes of this Bibliography in their study of gender, education and development in sub-Saharan Africa. Since improvements in health, nutrition and education are not just ends in themselves but are the catalysts for development and since within the developing world sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest life-expectancy, the highest infant mortality rate and one of the highest levels of illiteracy (World Bank, 1990), the basis for long-term development in the region is undermined. The authors argue that education is "the key to the process of human-centred development", (p275) because of its effects both on health & nutrition & also the key to economic growth, and they present evidence to show that women's education has a pivotal role in all this.

As far as health is concerned, the authors establish a strong relationship between women's literacy and lower infant mortality rates in sub-Saharan Africa in general and in the Gambia in particular. Secondly, since the region is one of "female farming", it is suggested that "investment in woman's education would yield significant returns in food production and agricultural output, as well as improving nutrition for the household", (p281). Again, this is illustrated by the example of the Gambia where horticultural schemes have succeeded best when led by a literate woman.

It is pointed out that although education can be seen as intrinsic to both human and economic development, the goal of universal primary education is actually receding. The figures for girls' enrolment continue to be lower than those for boys and their drop-out rate higher. Trying to eradicate illiteracy later with adult literacy programmes is fraught with difficulties, not the least of which is choice of language. Illiteracy among women sets back the process of development still further "because of its particular importance as a generator of both human and economic advancement", (p 284).

The article contains a useful diagram (p.277), illustrating the relationship between female education and developmental gains in health and agricultural production.

Individual Countries

Zimbabwe

GORDON, Rosemary (1994) 'Education policy and gender in Zimbabwe', **Gender and Education**, 6 (2), 131-139.

This article examines the changes and continuities in education policy with reference to gender during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Despite the government's stated commitment to gender equality, there has been little change to reduce sexual inequalities in education during the years following Independence. Gordon suggests that "gender neutral" policies may allow a particular state to perpetuate discrimination against women.

At Independence in 1980, the position of women in Zimbabwe was "the outcome of a century of patriarchal racist settler colonialism impacting upon indigenous pre-industrial patriarchal societies", (p131). Black girls had very little access to education. The post-colonial government gave black women majority status in law for the first time and created the Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCCDWA). As is often the case when governments set up a separate ministry for women's affairs, in Zimbabwe says Gordon, the MCCDWA's projects were neglected and under-resourced. The establishment of the MCCDWA resulted in the neglect of gender issues in other state organs, including the Ministry of Education. She shows how girls and boys have not benefited equally from the expansion in educational opportunities. At primary level fewer girls enrol and drop-out is higher for girls than for boys; fewer girls make the transition to secondary education and again their attrition rate is higher. The data at all levels of the educational system, says Gordon, suggests that "despite the state's verbal commitment to gender equity, during the period of post-colonial socialist reconstruction, [it] has, through its education policies and practices, continued its gendering and male protecting role", (p135). In other words, gender neutral policies have masked "a strong bias against women", (p136).

Economic structural adjustment since 1989 has made the situation worse. Although macro-economic policies appear to be gender neutral, their impact is gender differentiated. Austerity programmes affect women negatively because of the reduction in their access to employment, the limiting of access to services, and the increase in the demands on their time and labour to compensate for the gaps created by the cuts in services. These developments lead to more constraints on their daughters' access to education.

Sudan

BERNAL, Victoria (1994) 'Gender, Culture and Capitalism: Women and the remaking of Islamic "Tradition" in a Sudanese village', **Comparative Studies in Society and History**, 36 (1), 36-67.

The negative view of observers of North African and Middle Eastern societies who generally identify Islam as "the primary determinant of women's status and the obstacle to social and economic changes which might benefit women", (p. 36-37) is described by Bernal as "Islamic determinism", (ibid). She sees this perspective as a misapprehension of Islam and in her in-depth and thought-provoking analysis examines gender and religion in the Muslim world by identifying the links between "religious transformation, gender relations, and the integration of Muslim communities into the capitalist world system", (p.37). Bernal argues that contemporary Islamic fundamentalism should be seen as a modern development connected to socio-economic transformations rather than as a return to tradition. Her analysis is illustrated by data from fieldwork in a northern Sudanese village, Wad al Abbas, 1980-1982 and in 1988.

Experiences in Wad al Abbas would seem to indicate that economic changes such as in agriculture & labour migration (mainly to Saudi Arabia), have had unplanned outcomes resulting in new gender relationships and that these relationships are being institutionalised by new religious sensibilities and traditions in the form of Islamic Fundamentalism. Bernal concludes-

> "the intensification of social restrictions on women and the emergence of new secular and religious notions of gender difference are direct results of the community's growing integration into the world economy", (p61).

Niger

WYND, Shona (1995) **Factors affecting girls' access to schooling in Niger** . Final Report to ODA Education Division, Ministry of Overseas Development, London.

This study, based on fieldwork in Niger, sets out to develop "a more rigorous understanding of the relationship between education, the role that it plays within the community, and its potential influence on fertility", (p.i). Niger has a fertility rate of 7.4 and a literacy rate of 14% (9% for females). The overall primary school enrolment rate is 28.5% and only 36% of that figure are girls; in rural areas female enrolment can be as low as 10%. Wynd found that the school system is valued-

> "not for the basic skills it aims to provide for its students, but for the jobs that students, and their extended families, anticipate upon their graduation from university or professional school", (ibid).

As far as girls are concerned there is a widespread fear that schools teach them ways which run counter to local behavioural norms and that girls may become pregnant as a result:

> "Ironically, rather than looking upon education as means of ensuring healthier families, the local belief is that school could actually contribute to increasing fertility", (p.ii).

The causes of low enrolment figures in rural areas are examined including the inefficiency of recruitment methods and the avoidance techniques of parents who do not wish to send their children to school. The concept of "success" also affects recruitment: success means securing a position with the civil service after graduation. Children who do not manage to do this are considered to have "failed", and as most children will "fail", it is not considered worthwhile to send them to school, especially if they are daughters. It is also believed that "passes" are given to the children of government employees rather that to those who have earned them. Girls have few educated role models in the villages and in any case Hausa girls are likely to marry at about 12 years of age. It is often the mother who discourage girls from continuing at school, often because of the fear of the risk of pregnancy, and girls sometimes deliberately fail the primary leaving examination because of pressure at home. The question of a girl's education or lack of it is also a factor in the marriage market, and in the loss of labour in the home. All the factors discussed are supported by verbatim evidence from the interviews conducted in the villages.
Wynd concludes:

> "The potential gains that a primary school education may currently offer in terms of increased levels of hygiene, or the much sought after government job simply do not outweigh the potential social risks or the loss of labour. While studies suggest that increasing levels of education may lead to lower levels of fertility, that issue cannot begin to be explored until the education system itself is viewed as useful enough to attract girls and their parents......
> ....Clearly the system must be changed from one which produces either civil servants or failures, to one which teaches skills and awareness that are valued within the local community", (p.19-20).

Nigeria

CSAPO, Marg (1981) 'Religious, Social and Economic Factors hindering the education of girls in Northern Nigeria; **Comparative Education**, 17, (3) 311-319.

and

AKANDE, Bolanle E. (1987) 'Rural-urban comparison of female educational aspirations in South-Western Nigeria', **Comparative Education**, 23 (1), 75-83.

Csapo's article on girls' education in Northern Nigeria only just comes within the date parameters of this Bibliography: published in 1981, it is based on figures from the 1970's. It is however useful in that it examines in some detail the factor of religion as it affects girls' education among the mainly Muslim Hausa of Northern Nigeria. Many of the West African countries normally classified as "Sub-Saharan" do in fact reach towards the Sahara on their northern boundaries and their northern regions have a great deal in common with north Africa because of Islamic influence. Csapo also points out however that these northern regions are not only Islamic as compared with the Christianized southern areas but also have less favourable agricultural conditions: the economic factor is also important one as far as the education of girls is concerned. Niles' article on parental attitudes to girls' education (1989, q.v) is a later study in the same area which emphasises the urban/rural dichotomy.

Akande's article on girls' educational aspirations in Oyo State, Southern Western Nigeria, also examines the differences between girls from urban & rural backgrounds. Her research found a significant relationship between girls' family locations and their educational aspirations. Urban girls were far more likely to aspire to University (63%) than rural ones (26.3%). Rural girls' highest ambitions tended to be to train as a nurse or a teacher, an interesting result of the role models available in rural areas and of the high status accorded to nurses and teachers in the villages: Akande also found a significant relationship between family location and girls' scholastic performance. Rural girls perform less well overall than urban ones. More rural girls complained of interruption to their homework from household chores and errands. It is not only the quality of education in rural areas which may affect attainment but the demands of rural life.

Ivory Coast

GRISAY, Aletta (1984) 'Analyse des inégalités de rendement liées au sexe de l'élève dans l'enseignement primaire ivoirien'. **International Review of Education**, Vol. 30, p. 25-39.

Research by the *Laboratoire de Pédagoge Experimentale* at the University of Liège into primary education in the Ivory Coast found significant differences in achievement between boys and girls across the curriculum. From the first years boys do better & by the fourth year they have a strong advantage: this advantage lies not only in mathematics, often considered a boys' area, but also in learning French (the medium of instruction in the Ivory Coast). This situation differs from that of industrialised countries where the performance of girls is generally superior to that of boys in subjects linked to language learning. The author suggests that boys in the Ivory Coast (and in certain other developing countries too) may do better than girls in the speaking, reading and writing skills for a variety of reasons:

- because the cultural image of male and female roles engenders different behaviour expectations of girls in school and because there is less pressure on girls to do well, there is a negative influence on girls' motivation

- the teaching personnel is largely male

- boys have more chance to use French outside school

- girls gain less from classroom experience because they interact less, ask fewer questions. Cultural patterns demand reserved behaviour from a girl: *"il est malséant pour une fille... de trop parler ou de se faire remarquer; on la considérait comme une effrontée"*, say Ivory Coast teachers. (p. 35)

The author feel that it is the last point - patterns of behaviour in the classroom, which most affects girls' results in the Ivory Coast. Direct participation in the teaching/learning process in the classroom, and frequent opportunities to answer, talk and interact are essential in the acquisition of French which is itself a prerequisite for success in the other disciplines.

Attitudes towards the education of girls among the largely male teaching personnel appear to be equivocal, judging by a sample surveyed. Although 80 - 90% of the teachers agreed with statements about the necessity for girls to go to school, to stay there longer & even to have the right to go on to University, traditional views surfaced in responses to the following statements (p. 36):

C'est auprès de sa mère et non à l'école qu'une fille reçoit le meilleur de son éducation (54% agree)

Quel que soit son degré d'instruction, une femme ne doit pas se croire l'égale de l'homme (70% agree)

The author concludes ruefully that if teachers try to develop less passive behaviour in girl pupils, they may be reproached by parents for making girls *"effrontée"* or *"insolente"*. The teachers themselves may not really be convinced about encouraging girls to talk more: they may feel that since girls are by nature chatty - *"loin de leur apprendre à ouvrir la bouche, c'est à se taire qu'on devrait les inviter"*, (p. 37).

Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe

SWAINSON, Nicola (1995) **Redressing gender inequalities in education: a review of constraints and priorities in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe**, ODA, London

Dr Swainson describes this report as "primarily a desk study": she has gathered together, as indicated in her Bibliography, not only the usual sources but an enormous number of reports, papers and lectures, often in mimeograph and not easily accessible, to put together this up-to-date and very useful survey.

In the first part of the report she examines the international evidence concerning the benefits of female education and then reviews the literature that outlines the nature and extent of gender disparities in education in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This chapter contains a wealth of information and statistics (so far as they are available) on educational expenditure patterns, enrolments and wastage, performance and attainment, and literacy rates. The first part ends with a chapter which examines factors shaping gender inequalities in education and stresses that-

> "inequalities stem from gender relations in society at large and these are reflected in and played out in the school system itself," (p16).

Factors covered include economic restraints, the effect of woman's opportunities (or lack of them) in the labour market, the contribution of girls to household tasks, the socio-economic status of families, parental attitudes and influence, initiation practices and early marriage, and sexuality and sexual harassment. Swainson then examines school-based factors such as the school environment, teachers' expectations and attitudes, and single-sex education.

The second part of the report focuses on strategies to promote the education of both girls and women. It examines the policy options such as expanding educational provision and reducing the direct and indirect costs of schooling, improving girls' health and nutrition and recruiting more female teachers. There is a survey of efforts made to reduce direct costs through various scholarship programmes. Chapter 7 examines various types of government and donor intervention and their outcomes.

The final chapter is a succinct and useful list of recommendations. Swainson first suggests research priorities: clearly focussed empirical research is needed so that efforts to improve girls' educational opportunities can be based on evidence. She suggests twelve areas where research is needed such as the impact of female teachers, patterns of attendance, etc. Policy recommendations are divided into two areas: those which are school-based and those which are community based. Both researchers and policy-makers (whether government or NGO) will find useful suggestions on these lists.

NORTH AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST

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Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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Gender and Education

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Gender

CREEDON, Pamela. J. (et al.)(1995) 'Women and Public Relations Education and Practice in the United Arab Emirates' in **Public Relations Review**, 21(1), 59-76.

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SOFFAN, Linda Usra (1980) **The Women of the United Arab Emirates**, Croom Helm, London.

Gender and Education

AL-HAMMADI, Abdulaziz A. A. (1995) **Role conflict among Working Women in the United Arab Emirates and its Relationship with Personality Traits and Socio-economic Factors: A Study of Female Preparatory and Secondary School Teachers**, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hull, United Kingdom.

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Gender

MAKHLOUF-OBERMEYER, Carla (1979) **Changing Veils - Women and Modernization in North Yemen**, Croom Helm, London.

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Gender and Education

DUBOK, H. (1990) **The Recruitment of Female Agricultural Extension Agents in Yemen Arab Republic**, M. Phil Thesis, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

ANNOTATIONS

General

MALIK, Lynda P. (1995) 'Social and cultural determinants of the gender gap in Higher Education in the Islamic World', **Journal of Asian and African Studies**, Vol. 30, 3-4, p. 181-193

This study analysed gender stratification in higher education in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan and found that cultural factors (particularly religion) were much better predictors than structural factors. Realignments of state-class relations were found to be unrelated to the size of the higher education gender gap, which was maximised by the institutionalisation of Islamic religious codes. Malik chose to focus on three countries which represent significantly different aspects of the Islamic tradition. Although Islam emphasises obedience & the conservative view that the proper role of women is in the family rather than the public sphere, and although this creates difficulties for women contemplating independent careers in many Islamic societies, "the nature and the severity of the problems faced by professional women vary from one country to another and are influenced by many factors", (p184). Malik lists among these factors the sacred/secular orientation of the government, the literacy of the population, the class structure of the society and the economic conditions prevalent in the country.

Each of these factors is then examined in the case studies of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, which whilst nominally Muslim, differ in fundamental ways. In Turkey the gender gap in higher education is minimal. Pakistan and Iran both have high levels of gender stratification in universities. Malik says that these may be explained by the overall low literacy levels prevailing there as well as by the attempts of religious authorities to limit women's participation in public life.

State/class structure also varies: Turkey experienced revolution without however the existing class system being modified. There the traditional elite remained in place, unlike in Iran. In Pakistan there has been no revolution and the traditional elites have retained their position.

The sacred/secular orientation of the three countries also differs. Turkey is officially secular, Iran is a theocratic state and Pakistan is a democracy where fundamentalists, despite not winning elections, nevertheless influence government to institutionalize their Islamizing programmes.

Malik's analysis, she feels, points to cultural factors being more important than structural ones in determining gender stratification in higher education. In Pakistan and Iran, both with a high degree of gender stratification, Islamic fundamentalist policies have been institutionalized despite the facts that in Pakistan the traditional elites are in power but in Iran have been replaced. In Turkey the degree of gender stratification is low, the state is secular, and the elites remain. In the three countries under consideration, "the sacred/secular dimension consistently overrides class/structural considerations", (p191).

MOGHADAM, Valentine M. (1993) **Modernising Women: gender and social change in the Middle East**, Lynne Riener, Boulder.

This book, in the series Women and Change in the Developing World , has rapidly found a place as essential reading on student booklists. It deals with social change in the Middle East, North Africa and Afghanistan and "its impact on women's role and status, and women's responses to, and involvement in, change processes", (p.xiii). This is a study from a sociological perspective and the author states in her preface -

> "Myths and stereotypes abound regarding women, Islam, and the Middle East. This book is intended in part to "normalise" the Middle East by underscoring the salience of structural determinants other than religion. It focuses on the major social-change processes in the region to show how women's lives are shaped not only by "Islam" and "culture", but also by economic development, the state, class location & the world system", (p.xiii).

There are chapters on economic and political development, and Islamist movements, and a whole chapter each is devoted to the women of Iran and Afghanistan in the two detailed case studies.

Education is considered in the chapter dealing with 'Women, Patriarchy and the Changing Family'. Moghadam points out that -

> 'The persistence or modernisation of patriarchy notwithstanding, the processes of urbanization, industrialization, proletarianization, and mass schooling - so important to the demographic transition, and the decline of classic patriarchy in the West - are present in the Middle East", (p122).

Factors such as the development of groups of educated middle-class woman and also the rapid growth in numbers of unmarried adolescents (as the age of marriage rises) have had great impact. Education, says Moghadam, seems to be a more important variable in changing the position and self-perception of women than is employment.

She views the social and political changes under way in the Middle East through a "Marxist-feminist sociological lens", (p. 250). Middle-class women with education and jobs are, she feels playing a pivotal role in change. The fundamentalist backlash is directed at this stratum of women "who collectively symbolise social change in the Middle East", (p250).

Individual Countries

Bahrain

Seikaly, May "Women and Social Change in Bahrain", **International Journal of Middle East Studies**, 26, 1994, 415-426.

The dynamics of rapid change in socioeconomic and political structures in the Arab world, especially in the oil-dependent states of the Arabian Gulf such as Bahrain, have created superficially modern-looking societies without solving the dilemmas which Western modernisation has brought. "Change has come into conflict with the traditional cultural value systems tied to religion that control social behaviour", (p.416). Seikaly shows how the contradiction between modernisation and cultural/religious authenticity explains the ambivalence shown by political leaders and strategists towards development and how, as a wave of sociopolitical conservation spreads all over the Arab world, Islamic fundamentalist thought is dictating limitations to women's social development.

Women's educational and job opportunities began to grow in the 1970's but Seikaly describes this development as mainly an urban, middle class revolution. In rural areas, there was little change. She sees even the changes in the middle class as very limited as women were unable to establish "practical sociocultural rights for all women, regardless of class", (p421). Modernised young women had unconsciously distanced themselves from the realities of their society and with a political approach which was often élitist, could not reach all strata of women by traditional mechanisms. The article goes on to examine women's educational and job opportunities and their position as regards personal-status law. It concludes that after the liberalising experience of the 1970's and 1980's, the modern return to tradition is the more striking, particularly as it is starting to attract women who once considered themselves politically radical and socially liberal.

Saudi Arabia

AL-HARIRI, Rafeda (1987) 'Islam's point of view on Women's Education in Saudi Arabia', **Comparative Education**, 23(1), 51-57.

and

AL RAWAF, Haya Saad and SIMMONS, C (1991) - 'The education of women in Saudi Arabia', **Comparative Education,** 27 (3), 287 - 295.

These two articles form an interesting pair. Al-Hariri presents the arguments underlying discussion about women's education from a purely Islamic point of view, with supporting quotations from the Quran. She stresses that the Quran encourages rather then forbids the education of women, but that Islam does insist "on keeping women in a position that ensures their stable family life", (p.52). The rapid development of female education in Saudi Arabia since the 1960's has therefore been within a separate educational system directed by the General Presidency for Girls' Education. The economic resources of the country are such that developing parallel systems for boys and girls has not been a financial problem. The rapid development in provision for girls' education is outlined and the author shows how the provision is moulded to be acceptable within an Islamic context:

> "the areas of study for male and female students show that the highest number of female students is in the field of humanities, whilst in engineering their number is nil. This indicates that females are taking only subjects which are considered suitable to the nature of Saudi women & in accordance with the basic teaching of Islam", (p.55).

The article by Al Rawaf and Simmons is far fuller and better documented and although it acknowledges the huge growth in the provision of education for girls, it is more objective in pointing out the limitations of that provision in terms of goals and facilities. There are interesting sections on the reinforcement of stereo-typing in textbooks (p. 291) and on Distance Learning for women.

ASIA

General

Gender

MOMSEN, Janet and KINNAIRD, Vivian (eds) (1993)	**Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America,** Routledge, London. (Part 3 is South Asia, Part 4 is South East Asia).

Gender and Education

JAYAWEERA, Swarna (1987)	"Gender and Access to Education in Asia" in **International Review of Education,** 33(4) 455-466.
MAK, Grace C.L. (ed) (1996)	**Women, Education and Development in Asia: cross-national perspectives;** Garland, New York and London.
SHAH, Madhuri (1986)	**Without Women No Development: Selected Case Studies from Asia of Non-Formal Education for Women,** Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
UNESCO (1987)	**A Framework for Improvement of Educational and Vocational Guidance Services for Girls and Women in Asia and the Pacific;** PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1990)	**Functional Literacy and Civic Education among Rural Women,** PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1992)	**Promotion of Primary Education for Girls and Disadvantaged Groups**, PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1994)	**Women's Participation in Higher Education: China, Nepal and the Phillipines,** PROAP, Bangkok.

ANNOTATION

MAK Grace C.L. (1996), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London.

This book is part of a series within the Garland Reference Library, of Social Science known as 'Reference Books in International Education'. It has a very simple structure. Following the editor's Preface there are three parts: East Asia, South-East Asia and South Asia, after which comes an extensive bibliography, list of contributors and index. Its main value lies in being the most recent presentation on this theme in respect of the countries included, and in its straightforward and informative style and format.

The countries included are: The People's Republic of China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan: Republic of China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. As there is very little regional comment, we have decided to include most of the annotations of these chapters under the individual country headings below. We may note, however, a number of interesting omissions which inevitably diminish the capacity of the book to reflect its full title, notably: the whole of South-West Asia and the former Soviet Central Asia, Pakistan, Mongolia, the entire region of India-China, Thailand and The Phillipines. There are a number of others too, of course.

In the brief preface, the author relates the volume to the international development experience of the last two decades, and especially to the issue of linkage between investment in education and economic development. She links this with Asia's development experience, asking three main questions: 'How do its development strategies affect educational policies and woman's status? In a continent largely patriarchal, how have women responded to the increase in educational opportunities? And how do education and development needs combine to affect women's chances in their subsequent lives? Although the bulk of the book comprises ten case studies, four interrelated aspects of schooling are supposed to be addressed throughout: the development experience and its effect on women's status; the types of opportunity now available to women and their differential take up; has educational opportunity enhanced women's capacity to operate in, and influence, the public sphere?; the impact of education and economic participation on women's domestic status. Grace Mak concludes in respect of the ten contributions that: "The variation among us precisely reflects the different social contexts in which we, grew up and the ideological and material conditions in which we live today", but for all concerned: "The struggle must continue at both the macro-social and daily life levels".

SOUTH ASIA

Gender

CHEN, Martha (1995)	"A Matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh", in: NUSSBAUM Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (Eds), **Women, Culture and Development: a study of human capabilities,** Clarenden Press, Oxford, 37-57.
DIXON, Ruth B. (1978)	**Rural Women at Work: strategies for development in South Asia,** John Hopkins, University Press, Baltimore,
RAJU, Saraswati and BAGCHI, Deipica (1994)	**Women and Work in South East Asia,** Routledge, London.

Gender and Education

BHOG, Dipta et al (1994)	"Concreting Concepts: continuing education strategies for women" in **Convergence.** 27(2/3), 126-137.
JEFFERY, Roger and BASU, Alaka M. (1996)	**Girls' Schooling, Women's Autonomy and Fertility Change in South Asia,** Sage, New Delhi.
KHAN, Shahrukh, R. (1989)	**Barriers to Female Education in South Asia,** World Bank, Washington DC.
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Individual Countries

AFGHANISTAN

Gender

CHRISTENSEN, Hanne (1990) **The Reconstruction of Afghanistan: a chance for rural Afghan women,** United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva.

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JAYAWEERA, Swaran (1991)	**Diversification of Women's Employment Through Training**, I.L.O. Geneva.
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CHEN, Martha (1996) A matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh, in: NUSSBAUM, Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (eds), **Women, Culture and Development: a Study of Human Capabilities,** Clarendon Press, Oxford, 37-57.

Martha Chen's contribution to this important volume is a very special one, as it forms a Case Study located as a preliminary to a range of systemic and theoretical discussions on the issue of gender and human capabilities. The wise reader will take the opportunity to digest the realities described and analysed in this case study and set them against the wider discourse.

In the author's own words: 'This paper explores the predicament of poor women in poor economies, like Saleha Begum (Bangladesh) and Metha Bai (India), who must break with tradition and act independently because they lack the security the tradition is supposed to offer. "In communities where women are secluded, perhaps the most conspicuous and yet necessary way for women to break with tradition is to leave their courtyards or homesteads in search of work". Despite the fact that the constitutions of Bangladesh and India guarantee women equal employment opportunities with men, for many of them the system of seclusion denies them such opportunities.

Martha Chen describes how the 1974 famine in Bangladesh prompted some women to defy tradition and join the work force. The focus is on the increasing phenomenon of female-headed households and their interaction with the wider community and international aid activities. The Indian case is further complicated by immense variety as between castes, where aspiration to (social) status forms an additional constraint on gainful employment outside the home. The author analyses these situations in respect of four issues: the survival imperative; female mortality rates; women's status; human justice. She concludes that: "The demand that women be allowed to abandon seclusion and seek gainful employment outside the home should not be seen as an outside challenge to local culture and tradition but as a local response to changes in local culture and tradition".

Consequently, all women should have a right to gainful and just employment, especially in marginalised and developing economies. This is an essential human good and should be seen positively by insiders and outsiders alike.

Individual Countries

Bangladesh

CHEN, Martha, (1986) **Quiet Revolution: women in transition in rural Bangladesh,** BRAC, Dhaka.

Martha Chen describes and evaluates the efforts of one agency in Bangladesh to reach poor village women with projects designed to increase their material and social resources. The book details the social and economic roles of these women and conveys with immediacy the empirical base of the BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) experience. The growth and development of BRAC's approach to community development are described. The early approach was based on the assumptions that a) the rural masses are passive and need to be conscientised; b) their attitudes can be changed through education and training; c) the village communities, although not homogenous, can be organised to work cooperatively. The lack of success of the programmes prompted BRAC to conduct research analysis based on their collective field experience. Their findings led to a transformation in their approach to community development and to a radically new set of assumptions. It began to understand that the village is not a unified community but a set of sub-groups with conflicting interests. The rural power structure affects access to power and distribution of resources. The most important policy change in the light of these new findings was that in order to address the rural power structure, the capacities of and institutions for the poor and powerless must be developed through collective socio-economic action. The selection of poor and marginal women as the target group for a particular BRAC project led to the realisation that education is an essential, but not the most crucial, factor in improving the status of these women. Yet the critical importance of education is acknowledged. The changes that the women experienced in their lives after joining BRAC's program are described by the women in informal interviews with the author. These include changes in relationships, in attitudes, in the resources they have access to or control of and, most critically, in their access to and exercise of power. Chen concludes by trying to identify the reason for the poor results of the development efforts of the past two decades. The fact that women were overlooked and that women's work was not valued may explain the relative lack of success of these efforts. The actual and potential contribution of women to national development should be addressed in development planning and practice.

This remarkable book describes a particular programme of an NGO that has now gained international recognition for the efficacy of its development efforts. Its great strength is the author's own involvement in the designing and implementation of the projects that are described. The BRAC experience is conveyed with immediacy, and this is reinforced by including the women's opinions on key issues in the course of informal group and individual interviews. We are given an insight not only into programmes that succeeded but into earlier approaches which had to be modified because of their shortcomings. The conclusions of the evaluation of the early approaches, most importantly, that the concept of a unified village "community" may have no basis in reality, is of great significance to future development practices. The author makes an impassioned argument for incorporating a gender perspective into all development planning. There is little doubt that this extremely readable book is useful to the academician and practitioner alike.

WHITE, Sarah C. (1992) **Arguing with the Crocodile: gender and class in Bangladesh,** Zed Books, London.

The issue of social stratification is exhibited by gender and by class, and its relevance to development policy. It is based on field research in a village called Kumirpur in Bangladesh including case studies of thirty households. The book involves a comparative study of men and women's contribution to households' socio-economic relations. Aspects of the daily life of the people are examined, including women's relationship with men and other women, employment relations between women, the organisation of the family household, and other forms of interaction. The principal argument of the book is that it is untrue that gender relations are set, as many "women and development" approaches assume. Rather gender is a "contested image". This approach to gender shifts the focus from women as an exclusive group, to the actual ways in which women and men manipulate definitions of identity according to their own interests. An important outcome of this approach is that women are no longer conceived of as passive victims, and the study of gender relations is opened up to examine women's exercise of power. The study of access to, and exercise of, power is critical to an understanding of social relations. White's research looks in detail at what happens in the home, how women conceive of their own interests and how notions of gender figure in interpersonal negotiations of power. Relationships between classes and between gender groups are not always based on conflict but show complex negotiations of mutual gain and shared interest. The notion of flexible identities is most clearly seen in family household and patron-client relationships. The family household gives people a common identity and common interests, but also divides them into specific roles and places in the hierarchy. Similarly, patron-client relationships (between men, between women, and between men and women) show elements of contradiction and solidarity. The implication of this is that future gender-oriented research requires a more sensitive comparative approach that includes both sexes in its analysis of social relations. White emphasises that it is not enough to simply classify societies as more or less equal depending on the status of women, but to explore the complexities of the nature of differentiation:

White's book makes important contributions to the gender and development discourse. Her field work in Kumirpur and detailed case studies of thirty households gives her a unique perspective on the subject of gender relations in rural Bangladesh. The stereotype of a monolithic female identity is undermined, and the fact that relations between members of the same class or gender group are often characterised by conflict is highlighted. The most critical insight that this book provides is that future gender-oriented research cannot look at the question of female status in isolation from that of males. Her observations relating to "the flexibility of identity" show that women have the room to manoeuvre around cultural prescriptions relating to gender norms. A comparative approach that integrates the relative position of men and women in the social order will help us to identify not only the differences between gender norms, but between norms and practice, and within gender identities. Such an approach reveals that women are not always the passive victims they are often depicted as. The issue of gender identity and its impact on socio-economic relations cannot be understood through convenient generalisations. It is a noteworthy addition to the literature on gender and development.

India

AGGARWAL, J.C. (1987) **Indian Women: Education and Status**, Arya Book Depot, New Delhi.

Aggarwal relies on political documents to trace the history of women's education in India. This historical survey focuses on central government efforts in the post-dependence period to tackle the issues relating to women's education. Thus, it describes the findings and recommendations of centrally appointed committees on women's status and education, including the National Committee on Women's Education (1959); the Committee on Differentiation of Curricula for Girls and Boys (1961); the Committee to look into the Causes for lack of Public Support particularly in rural areas for Girls' Education and to enlist Public Cooperation (1963); Committee on the Status of Women in India (1971); and the National Committee on Co-education (1974). Lastly it examines the chapter of the National Policy on Education and Programme of Action (1986) devoted to education for women's equality. The National Policy on Education envisages that education will be used as a strategy for achieving a basic change in the status of women. The national education system will, therefore, play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women; contribute towards the development of new values through redesigned curricula and textbooks; promote women's studies as a part of various courses; and widen the access of women in programmes of vocational, technical and professional education.

Aggarwal's book gives a factual account of government policy towards women's education in the post-Independence era. The title of the book is, however, rather misleading. A descriptive review of the reports of various committees cannot be said to discuss the issue of Indian women's education and status. The book does not explore the interaction between the educational levels of women and their socio-economic status. This is a complex issue with important consequences for policy-makers but the book fails to address it. It offers no real insight into how the status of women determines their access to educational pursuits, or into how access to education has influenced their position in society. It is not within the scope of a historical survey of committee reports to address issues of such complexity. The choice of title for the book is, therefore, perplexing. A less factual and more analytical approach would have illuminated the issue of female education in India in a more meaningful way. As it is, the book only serves the purpose of familiarising the reader with governmental reports relating to Indian women's education.

CHANANA, Karuna (ed) (1988) **Socialisation, Education and Women: explorations in gender identity,** Sangam Books, London.

This is a collection of essays that explores the effect of education and socialisation on the changing status of Indian women. The various articles in the volume reveal that not only do Indian family and social structure socialise women in keeping with tradition, "patriarchal" norms, but that this socialisation is reinforced by the educational system itself. Leela Dube writes in "On the Construction of Gender: Hindu girls in patrilineal India", that Hindu rituals, ceremonies, language and practices inculcate in young girls the notions of self-restraint, self-denial, service of temporary membership within the natal home. Similarly, Zarina Bhatty's article "Socialising of the Female Muslim Child in Uttar Pradesh" points out that the legal and social inequalities of Muslim women in reflected in the socialisation of Muslim female children in India from an early age to the established norms and practices. This socialisaion is often reinforced by the educational system. Karuna Chanana's essay "Social Change or Social Reform: women, education and family in pre-independence India", states that supporters of women's education promoted the idea of traditional role reinforcement through the curricula - women were to receive an education largely to be better wives and mothers. In "Women's Nature and Access to Education in Bengal", Malvika Karlekar shows how traditional notions on the constitution of "women's nature" have circumscribed female access to education from its beginnings in the 19th century up to date. There is a commonality of views among policy makers that there is a potential conflict between the demands of education and what they perceive as the "essential nature" of women.

This collection of essays by Indian writers is a valuable addition to the literature on gender and education in India. It not only analyses the sociology of female education in India, but also critically examines the contribution of education to improving women's status in India. The essays indicate that patriarchal structures severely retard the options and opportunities available to women. The point about the negative influence of patriarchal ideology and its attendant socio-religious customs on female education is made by virtually every writer in this collection of essays. Unlike many books on gender and education in India, it does not unquestioningly accept education of women as the panacea to the ills that beset Indian society. Rather than challenging the traditional socialisation of young women by family and community, education has often served to reinforce the status quo. There are, however, two noticeable omissions in the book. The observations on the socialisation of girls and young women would have been strengthened by some information on that of boys and young men. Secondly, more concrete micro-level data would have strengthened the arguments about the nature of socialisation of Indian women and the role of education in reinforcing traditional stereotypes. As it stands, many of the articles owe more to historical records and personal experience, and less to empirical research and case studies. The book, however, highlights the problematic nature of female education in India which makes it a valuable addition to the existing literature in this area.

MUKHOPADHYAY, C.C. and SEYMOUR, Susan (eds) (1994) **Women, Education and Family Structure in India,** Westview, Colorado.

This collection explores the linkages between women's participation in formal education and the fundamental institutions of family, kinship and marriage. They comment that there is in India an ongoing tension between pressures that increase the desirability of education for women and traditional structures that constrain women's education in order to preserve a set of social institutions that they term patrifocal family structure and ideology. This collection of essays reveals that male-oriented structures and beliefs profoundly affect women's lives and, hence, their access to education and educational achievement. They examine the reciprocal relationship between patrifocal family system and ideology, and women's educational participation and achievement. Steve Derme's essay, "Arranging Marriages: how fathers' concerns limit women's educational achievements" explores how Indian fathers' concerns with their daughters' marriageability effectively limit their daughters' educational aspirations. Carol Mukhopadhyay's article, "Family Structure and Indian Women's Participation in Science and Engineering", finds that the different obligations of sons versus daughters towards their natal families leads to differences in how families view educational achievements, especially in scientific fields, for girls and boys. In "Schooling for What? The Cultural and Social Context of Women's Education in a South Indian Muslim Family", by Sylvia Vatuk shows that women played a pivotal role in accessing education for other females in the family. In this family, cross-age and inter-generational female support networks promoted schooling for girls, whether supplementing the efforts of those males who also favoured education for women or providing opposition to those who resisted. The essay by Susan Seymour, "Women, Marriage and Educational Change in Bhubaneshwar, India: a twenty-five year perspective", shows that middle and upper status residents of Bhubaneshwar responded very positively to the new educational opportunities for women and men. Even among middle and upper status families change has been more dramatic where a more class-based system of social stratification exists. Residence in traditional caste-based neighbourhoods with large extended patrifocal families has kept the forces of change that female education could potentially produce, under control.

This volume provides remarkable insight into the ways in which variations in family structure influence the issue of female access to, and achievement in, education. Contributors explore the impact that the cultural norms of a patrifocal society have on girls' schooling. The male bias in patrifocal norms and ideology are translated into educational approaches that favour sons. The education of girls beyond a certain level is seen as socially problematic, and concerns about "marriageability" limit the educational choices available to women. The shortcoming of the book is that the ethnographic data is almost exclusively taken from urban and upper class/caste samples. The research findings would have been strengthened if data from rural and lower class/caste families had been utilised to see what light they shed in the linkages between family structure and female education. The anthropological-sociological approach, however, will be indispensable in informing future research on the issue of gender and education.

MUKHOPADHYAY, Maitrayee (1984) **Silver Shackles: women and development in India,** Oxfam, Oxford.

Mukhopadhyay makes the case that the definition and content of development programmes should be re-examined. Her analysis of development policies in India shows that with the attempt at rapid 'modernisation', and the neglect of integrated rural development, women have lost their productive role in the economy and have been displaced from the process of development. The issues that Mukhopadhyay discusses in relation to the status of women are social organisations, population ratios, access to education, economic contribution, non-governmental organisations and public policy. She argues that the social structure derives its resilience to change from the cultural norms that sustain it, and so there remains a gap between the changes that are planned and the changes that have resulted. The aspects of social organisation which have hindered the process of social change in the role of women are discussed; and these include patriarchy, the joint family system, socialisation of the young, marriage, marriage rites, dowry polygamy and religion. The book discusses at length the issue of women's education and employment, and their impact on women's status. Mukhopadhyay observes that the problem of illiteracy in India is primarily a problem of female illiteracy; and female illiteracy is basically a problem of illiteracy among rural women, particularly those from scheduled caste and tribal families. The majority of women are beyond the ambit of formal education,and the only alternative is to involve them in non-formal education. She criticises formal education as it exists in India today as elitist. In a critique of women's role in the economy, it is pointed out that lack of education and skill denies women access to employment which results in their displacement from the labour market. Also, the course of economic development in the past two decades has eroded the economic role of women. Technological innovation in both the organised and unroganised sectors of the economy has not been sensitive to women's roles and needs, and has instead tended to increase women's displacement from the process of development. Mukhopadhyay's analysis shows that public policy betrays an essentially middle-class bias which assumes women are primarily home-workers. Programmes to "integrate women in the development process" ignore the reality that most women already contribute a large amount to development but their contribution is not recognised.

Mukhopadhyay's book is a small but nevertheless significant addition to the literature on gender and development in India. The arguments of the book are sustained both by statistical evidence and interviews with individual women. It details the causes of the deteriorating status of the majority of Indian women, discusses the reasons behind this and puts forward recommendations for the future. The major strength of the book is the critique of certain so-called development practices that have, in fact, had a negative impact on women. It emphasises that development programmes should be more sensitive to the needs of women. This slim text discusses in a thought-provoking manner the major issues relating to women's development in India. It also indicates the policy changes that are requires to rid women of the shackles that have bound them for so long.

GHOSH, Ratna and TALBANI, Abdulaziz (1996). India in: MAK, Grace C.L. **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 165-186.

The position of women in India is complex because of regional, cultural, and religious differences and sharp socioeconomic disparities. A very small number of women are educated and visible in positions of power and prestige, while the vast majority, whose basic concern is survival, are illiterate, powerless and vulnerable. Despite a fair degree of freedom long ago in the Vedic age, it was not until the immediate post-independence period of 1947 that any modern impetus was evident in support of opportunities for women, whether economic or educational. Only about 8 per cent of females were literate in 1947. The Constitution of 1950 began to recognise human rights, but neither this nor the education system strikes at the structures of patriarchal subordination. It is not so much an issue of educational opportunity here as one of keeping women in their traditional social roles.

Despite the massive expansion of popular education since 1947, in 1990 the female literacy rate had only reached about 25 per cent nationally and 18 per cent in rural areas. This chapter goes on to detail the situation of gender and education in India according to standard indeces: enrolment at different levels, wastage, distribution by field of study etc. Very few women are in the workforce in official terms but a minority hold high and prestigious positions in academia. In the Civil Service, though, they represent only about 6 per cent of employees.

Although there are enormous disparities in respect of girls' education in India, it is generally the case that lack of special facilities is often a key factor in enrolment. Norms that disapprove of co-education lead to the withdrawal of girls, while lack of safe access constrains participation even when it is condoned. Within this generally negative scene there are areas of high participation and achievement where several factors (eg. matriarchy, mission legacies and socialism) come together (eg. Kerala, Meghalaya and North Punjab). Outside of these areas, the minority of women who have higher education use it to improve their social position in the present structure without changing the hierarchical structure itself. They go into the teaching profession in large numbers because, particularly at the lower levels, this is an extension of their traditional roles: a convenient combination of domestic and occupational spheres. The majority of women do not, or cannot, exercise their rights in education and society because social and structural changes produced by modernization and the egalitarian ideology since independence have not been accompanied by parallel changes in values and attitudes towards women.

Pakistan

THE BRITISH COUNCIL (1993) **Workshops on Female Access to Primary Schooling in Pakistan: Programme, Materials and Recommendations,** Islamabad.

This report arises from a national workshop convened by The British Council in collaboration with the Pakistan Ministry of Education and NORAD. It is organised under a number of sub-heads and sections: general papers; cultural and social influences on girls participation in primary education; co-education at primary level; appropriate infrastructures for the fostering of girls' education; the role of NGOs and the private sector in respect of female education. Overall there are 33 papers in this report, distributed fairly evenly over the five sections identified above. Of these 33 papers, only four are contributed by outsiders - all from the UK - so that the bulk of the report is indigenous and derives from the personal experiences and critical observations of the leading female scholars and professionals of the country itself.

It is not possible to summarise all the papers here, or even the key ones, but it is possible to identify major themes that are strongly represented or tend to recur. One of these is the issue of adult education and the significance of maternal literacy. While progress needs to be made in providing more schooling opportunities for girls, there must be a parallel effort to promote appropriate forms of literacy for mothers of today's young children. Ideally, as Fayyaz Bager's paper shows, there needs to be created a sustainable model for universal female literacy, and that the most crucial factor within this is the availability of local teachers. If this issue, and it is concerned with female teachers, can be successfully addressed then much of the cultural and social constraint will be overcome. This is linked with the contentious issue of co-education. Five papers discuss how far it can be applied to primary schooling in Pakistan. The paper by Humala Khalid argues for its promotion and therefore for reversing the current pattern of male teachers at this level - they represent some 70 per cent of the primary teachers in Pakistan.

Female participation in primary education is also constrained by inadequate infrastructures. For some of the papers in this section this also means the provision of appropriate teachers, but there is also discussion of such aspects as the state of the buildings, the provision of acceptable sanitation facilities, school walls, roads and forms of communication. With rural areas of Pakistan being among the poorest in the world, these physical factors are very influential one way or the other in affecting parental decisions. Finally, several papers outline interesting innovations and projects in specific areas, mostly involving NGOs but also the private sector.

With the size of the population of Pakistan being what it is, and the rate of increase being maintained, both private and public sectors must work together in addressing the problem of female participation, along with the crucial contribution of both external and local NGOs.

AFTAB, Tahera (1994), Fighting Illiteracy: What Works and What Doesn't: A Case Study of Female Literacy in Pakistan, **Convergence** 27(4), 25-34.

This was one of the most significant papers presented at the Cairo Conference of 1994. The author states that since independence in 1947 there has been an underinvestment in people in Pakistan, and especially in females. She presents the paper "... to study the complex, often subtle, ways in which norms and traditions deprive women of the autonomy to which all human beings are entitled, and on which social and economic development ultimately depends."

Illiteracy is highlighted as a major problem. For the women of Pakistan, illiteracy means segregation, the creation of a separate world doomed by poverty, deprivation and oppression. By 1990, the female literacy rate was only 22 per cent. A major cause, for male and female alike, of high rates of illiteracy is the accessibility of schooling, but for social and cultural reasons this constrains girls more than boys. Even once enrolled in primary schools, about 60-70 per cent of girls drop out in the face of the pressures of parental concern, economic need for their contribution to survival, and direct discrimination.

At the adult education level, the gender constricted position of women in Pakistan varies over an extremely wide range of programmes and skills, but it is always evident. Why is the growth of female literacy in Pakistan so slow? The author identifies the following factors by way of explanation: negative attitudes of the family at birth; low societal status; continued feudalism; patriarchy; an obscurantist view of Islam which supports male vested interests; restricted mobility; low perception of female potential leading to low enrolments in schools (where they exist) and high wastage rates; poor quality literacy materials, again, where they exist at all. Working from an earlier (1991) study of the causative factors of female illiteracy, the author illustrates that among the sample studied (c 1000) from low income localities in Karachi, most girls- c 76 per cent - had never been to school. Major factors were identified as: poverty; cultural blockages; the opposition of fathers to daughter's schooling; lack of interest among girls in education.

Despite this picture of widespread low self-esteem and low ascribed status the Karachi study showed that at least 70 per cent of the girls wanted to study and hope to do so one day through acquiring literacy skills. Clearly in Pakistan the combination of rural and the urban poor in one of the world's least developed economies represents a massive challenge for the young of both sexes, but in trying to respond they begin from different starting lines - the girls having to do more to reach the goal.

CHOWDHURY, Kowsar P. (1996) Pakistan, in: MAK, Grace C.L. **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 187-215.

Like India, Pakistan inherited its modern education system on independence in 1947, by which time ancient traditions of educational opportunity for females had been drastically eroded. This situation has been further enhanced by increasing economic disparity between rich and poor, urban and rural and to some extent between ethnic groups. Within this generally worsening situation for the poorer sections of society the welfare and productivity of women in Pakistan rank almost the lowest in the world.

This chapter recognises four main categories of indicators of women's welfare, productivity and therefore, status: mortality rate and life expectancy; human resources development - including education; women's role in lowering the birth rate; participation in the economy and contribution to household income. In summary, and put together, these four indices show a picture of a strikingly negative sex ratio in female terms due to dire health circumstances; very low educational status, therefore virtually no human resource development; inability to help reduce the birth rate or to make any telling contribution to economic growth, even at local level.

The situation had not been addressed in any significant way until the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) which officially endorsed the integration of women into national development. Targets were set to increase female participation in primary education to 60 per cent, and the female literacy rate to nearly 50 per cent. In practice these targets have not been achieved. Subsequent plans and measures have also, in general, failed to make a significant impact.

This chapter proceeds to detail the various areas in which female disadvantage is normally evident (enrolment, participation, wastage etc), and identifies negative socio-cultural attitudes and widespread grinding poverty as the main causes for the patterns of inequality that continue to exist. Some of the barriers could be overcome if culturally acceptable facilities existed that were accessible to girls. In short: "... girls do not enrol in schools because there are no schools for them" (p 119). It is the lack of schools rather than cultural inhibitions that is the single most important reason for the low rate of female enrolment in Pakistan. Negative parental attitudes (mothers as well as fathers), and poverty are cited as the next most important factors.

The chapter goes on to examine female participation in the labour force, in parenting and in politics, with evidence, not surprisingly of the constraining effect of lack of education in all areas. By highlighting this situation, the author is anxious not to undermine the importance of education, and concludes that female access and attainment must be enhanced. It is not only because women's education increases social and economic returns, but also because it is a fundamental human right.

Sri Lanka

JAYAWEERA, Swarna (1996), Sri Lanka in: MAK, Grace C.L. (ed) **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 217-244.

This review of education and development in Sri Lanka from a gender perspective takes into account a number of social science theories by exploring three facets of the education and development interface as it affects women: gender based distribution of educational opportunity, the relationship between education and female labour force participation, and the impact of education on gender roles and relations within the family.

After a description of the phases of Sri Lankan development: traditional, colonial and postcolonial, this article details the progress of education in recent decades. Since the 1960s educational and social policies have been implemented without gender differentiation. For example, the percentage of women students in the universities increased from 10 per cent in 1942 to 44 per cent in 1970. By 1918 literacy rates for females were 83 per cent as compared with 90 per cent for males. Distance from school is no problem, and the vast majority of schools are co-educational. There is an absence of oppressive social practices, but poverty continues to be a barrier to educational opportunity. Structural adjustment policies have resulted in a deterioration in the quality of education in the 1980s and 1990s.

Although access and enrolment have remained relatively equal, there has been an increasing disparity in quality as between the rural and urban areas. District-wide disparities in education participation also underscore the disadvantaged situation of girls in remote and plantation locations. Social class is the major determinant of access but this in turn relates to gender. Nonetheless the participation of females at all levels has maintained an impressive profile wherever socio-economic circumstances permit.

Despite such a record there is one area of education where female disadvantage is evident, namely technical and vocational training. This derives from gender-specific curricular demarcation at school level and leads on to influence the labour market, so that high levels of achievement be girls do not relate positively to human resource development. Indeed unemployment rates among women have risen higher than those of men in the last two decades.

The author summarizes the current situation in the following terms: "A dichotomous perception of social and economic development has eroded some of the benefits of education that should have accrued to women in the labour force and in the family environment. Nevertheless, education has been perceived often in Sir Lanka as a basic human right as well as an instrument of gender equity and social justice."

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VIETNAMESE WOMEN'S UNION AND CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES (ed) (1989) **Vietnamese Women in the Eighties,** Foreign Language Publishing House, Hanoi.

ANNOTATIONS

Individual Countries

Indonesia

ODEY-GARDINER, Mayling and SUPRAPTO, Riga Adiwoso (1996), Indonesia, in: MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 95-118.

Indonesia is, in demographic terms, one of the largest countries in the world. Geographically it is incredibly fragmented, comprising over 1000 islands and at least 300 distinct ethnic groups. Gender is another aspect of disparity, females not having the same access as men to education, employment and social standing.

This chapter first provides a sustained gender-based analysis of Indonesian education. Quantitative and qualitative data are provided with the problems laying clearly in the area of the latter. Not surprisingly, dislocated communications and the insularity of many of the smaller national components lead to deepened disparities. Such contexts tend to overcome a long standing policy of equal access to education, traditional roles for the majority of females result in interrupted attendance and lower attainments than their male counterparts

In general however, recent improvements in educational participation and qualifications have led to credentials outstripping employment opportunities in the modern sector. So unemployment of the educated tends to be more prevalent in urban than in rural areas and affects both sexes A tendency to remain even longer in education prolongs the problem. As female superiority of attainment runs right through to the highest levels, the benefits of higher education for women are higher than for men. In Indonesia there is little cultural constraint against women working outside of the household, However, financial rewards for comparable occupations are not equal, and favour males.

Positive development trends in education and the economy have led to the phenomenon of 'open unemployment', and more among women than men. It is possible, though, that the currently booming economic growth of the country may provide sufficient private sector jobs to satisfy the highly educated of both sexes. It is clear that strong policies of human resource development across the whole population of Indonesia, but especially in the major cities, is one of the pillars of economic growth in Indonesia. This has relied on liberal general education supporting diverse skills but it is thought that future growth needs to be reflected more to science and technology. This could disadvantage females depending on whether or not traditional choices prevail as between subjects to be studied and skills acquired.

Malaysia

BRIEN, Michael J. and LILLIARD, Lee A. (1994), Education, Marriage, and First Conception in Malaysia, **Journal of Human Resources,** XXIX(4), 1167-1204.

This paper examines cohort and ethnic differences in education, the timing of marriage, and the timing of first conception for women in Peninsular Malaysia. The authors examine the roles of education and enrolment in delaying marriage and first conception, and dropping out of school. The focus is on the joint nature of these decisions by controlling the endogeneity of one outcome as it affects the others. Changes in education and enrolment account for a substantial position of the cohort trend towards later age of marriage in this part of Malaysia. Further, most of the rise in the age of first conception across cohorts and ethnic groups is fully accounted for by cohort and ethnic differences in the age of marriage.

All this is set against a picture of rising educational attainment for both sexes and the evidence of a wider spread of curricular interests and therefore employment opportunities among females. However the authors merely ask whether either educational development or economic development, or both have a causal connection with the marriage and conception trends recorded? Substantial amounts of data are provided and various statistical models employed.

After this detailed descriptive analysis they are prompted to select a number of questions as being of first order significance: is endogeneity important? what about the age at marriage? what is the role of marital status? The fix on the last one is significant in that in Malaysia, marital status is critical to understanding the timing of first conception because there is very little childbearing outside of marriage. They conclude with the following summary: "We find that marital status is a very significant predictor of the decision to continue in school, but that its importance is reduced by the rarity of marriage before leaving school. A number of other explanatory factors are found to influence continuing in school, including educational policies, family background characteristics, and the availability of schools of the appropriate level." Availability is an important issue in spatial terms and in respect of female take up. The usual structure of urban advantage over rural is present in Malaysia and clearly enhances the prospects of women continuing in education, especially as further and higher education opportunities tend to be in towns and cities anyway.

SIDIN, Robiah (1996), Malaysia, in MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 119-141.

Education is perceived as having contributed significantly to the recent and rapid development of Malaysia economically, as well as having a primary function in socializing children into accepted community values and behaviour. It is clear that women have played a full part in this development, across a wide range of sectors and this has been happening not only because of labour demand, but also due to governmental efforts to incorporate women effectively in the process. This chapter details the different types of educational opportunities open to women on an equal basis to men as well as their participation in the economic, social and political dimensions of Malaysian life.

An historical account of the development of the profile of female education is provided, showing phases of increased participation in response to different factors such as mission activity and military conflict. The achievement of independence provided a major opportunity, and by 1970 the enrolment rate for girls at primary level was 85 per cent, while at secondary level 44 per cent for lower and 16 per cent for upper. Given the macro multi ethnic picture there is obviously some variation as between the major components. There is also some disparity even today as between urban and rural areas of the country, but most boys and girls are attending school at least up to the age of 15. After that various forms of selection begin to play a significant part in the appearance of greater gender differentiation. In particular the participation of girls in vocational and technical education is still low, providing only about 25 per cent of the total enrolment in this sector, and being concentrated in traditional 'female' programmes. However, there are signs of a change of attitude on a small scale. At tertiary level the representation of women in most subject areas is strong. The article provides data to illustrate the situation in all sectors of education and employment.

Over the last decade, the proportion of the labour force that is female has risen, while that of males has correspondingly fallen. Nonetheless, women are both vertically and horizontally, clustering in manual and clerical jobs, though at the professional levels, where high achieving females are breaking through, there is evidence of increased appointments in medicine, dentistry, accounting law and university teaching. Women are increasingly active and effective in social development fields as their self-concept and self development profiles have strengthened. Such confidence building experiences have also projected increased numbers of women into Malaysian politics at various levels.

So the major problems facing Malaysian women are now those arising from having to combine occupational and domestic responsibilities. Constraints on their geographical mobility lead to tensions in both professional and skilled manual sectors. The author concludes that the issues that most need to be addressed concern the workplace, conflict between women's traditional and modern roles, and leadership.

EAST ASIA

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Gender

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Gender and Education

AKSORNKOOL, Namtip (1995) **Daughters of the Earth: skills-based literacy programme for women, China,** UNESCO and UNICEF, Paris.

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MAK, Grace C.L. (1996)	"The People's Republic of China", in MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: cross-national perspectives**, Garland, New York and London, 3-28.
RAI, Shirin M. (1994)	"Modernisation and Gender: education and employment in Post-Mao China" in **Gender and Education,** 6(2), 119-129.
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SOUTH KOREA

Gender

CHUNG, Sei-wha (ed) and SHIN, Chang-hyun(tr) (1986)	**Challenges for Women: women's studies in Korea**, Ewha Women's University Press, Seoul.
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MONGOLIA

Gender

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Gender and Education

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Gender and Education

UNESCO (1991)	**Islam, Perestroika and the Education of Women: principles and possibilities,** Paris.

TAIWAN

Gender and Education

HSIEH, Hsiao-chin (1996)	Taiwan, Republic of China", in MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: cross-national perspectives,** Garland, New York and London, 65-91,
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UZBEKISTAN

Gender

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Individual Countries

China

MAK, Grace C.L. (1996), The People's Republic of China, in: MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 3-28.

The author adopts what she terms a special approach to assessing the status of women in China in relation to education, family situation and economic development. In general it seems that education and population policies in recent decades have met with some success in respect of enhancing female opportunity, whereas attempts to reach more liberal positions on marriage, divorce and employment have been constrained by male resistance. Lack of policy coordination in the social spheres and in relation to economic policy is seen as an important factor.

A useful background on historical attitudes to the education of women and girls is provided,, with special reference to the influence of the post 1949 period, and a range of useful data on issues such as enrolment at different levels, subject orientation and employment is listed. It was found that, post 1949, although a re-organised economy was more willing to recruit women, urbanization was slow. So geography has been a crucial factor in affecting women's employment prospects, since urban areas normally offer more education and training opportunities to females. The urban/rural dichotomy, distinctive and important in the case of China, is given further space in the article before the author moves on to the 'contemporary' situation: that is to say from 1978 to the present.

This is described as the period of pragmatism and is examined in relation to four issues: the family, education, the economy and politics. During the past 20 years marriage and childbearing trends in China have changed in such a way as to release women for economic participation, and this has direct links to education where emphasis has been on basic and vocational sectors. However, female improvement in educational terms is coming from a very low base and as recently as 1990, of the 80 per cent of the adult population who were illiterate, 70 per cent were female. Nonetheless within the proportion of the population actively engaged in education, the female dimension is growing. This, according to the author, attracts various forms of discrimination including: tracking females into traditional subjects such as foreign languages, primary school teaching and fashion; demanding higher grades for females than for males competing in the same arena, including access to higher education.

Agriculture continues to be the major occupation of the Chinese population, but while boys may be released for education, parents tend to keep their daughters in productive employment. Only if a 'township enterprise' (semi urban light industrial development) is nearby would that pattern be changed, and women transfer to non-agricultural work. In urban areas where diversification of production offers more employment opportunities, the positive educational profile of women and girls makes then attractive but has also attracted a backlash as males seek to protect their traditional position. The Chinese experience shows the difficulty of sustaining equality due, at least in part, to lack of power among women as a group. Yet, education and some modern sector economic participation has engendered a new awareness among Chinese women of their rights and their potential that sustains them in the continued struggle for equal opportunity.

South Korea

KIM, Oksoon (1996), South Korea, in MAK, Grace C.L. (ed), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 51-63.

Because studies of the impact of education on development typically came to differentiate females from males, the author sets out to investigate the extent to which female labour has contributed to economic growth since 1960 in Korea. There is a context of parallel and rapid expansion of educational opportunities in that country, but any connection needs to be properly demonstrated both in general terms, as well as in relation to gender.

The author based the study on three assumptions: that educational expansion in South Korea provided more opportunities for males than for females; that female labour contributed to economic groeth in Korea in different ways than did male labour; that educational expansion did not lead to improvement in the economic circumstances of the female population during the years of rapid economic development. Data are provided to illustrate the phenomenal growth in the education sector in South Korea in recent decades as well as the continued popular demand for this service. The figures show that the vast majority of investment and innovation has come from the private sector, and the author argues that the expansion has reinforced inequality in respect of educational opportunities open to males and females. In Korea this whole issue is dominated by social class leading to an unequal distribution of new educational opportunities. This in turn affects girls adversely and is even more reinforced by curricular stereotyping, making, for example, home economics compulsory for girls and technology for boys. This meant that, at a time of massive industrial and manufacturing expansion, certain industries concentrated on acquiring female workforces. This was due to low employment costs for greater skills and higher reliability. Regardless of sector, Korean females are paid about half that received by male counterparts. Cheap female labour is concentrated in the burgeoning cities. So because the manufacturing sector has occupied such an important place in Korea's economic growth, low paid female employees have contributed significantly to the accumulation of capital necessary for sustained economic growth.

A number of sources are the examined by the author in attempting to illuminate the relationship, if any, between educational expansion and economic growth. It is clear that in the South Korean case, most females are educated way beyond the level required for the job they are doing, and it is obvious that human capital theory does not apply to the female working population in that country. Women continue to work under poor conditions for low wages, regardless of their educational background. Conversely male workers are sometimes enjoying the higher wages gained in employment for which they are not necessarily qualified. From this it can only be concluded that Korean women's' contribution to the country's economic development has indeed been greater than that of men, which is considered in the context of educational background and payment for work done.

LATIN AMERICA

General

Gender

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ARGENTINA

Gender

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BOLIVIA

Gender

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Gender and Education

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BRAZIL

Gender

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Gender and Education

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EL SALVADOR

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Gender

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PERU

Gender

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Gender

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Gender

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INSTITUTO DE LA MUJER (ESPAÑA) y FLACSO (CHILE) (1993)	**Mujeres Latinoamericanas, En Cifras. Venezuela,** FLACSO, Chile.
GARCÍA GUADILLA María-Pilar(1993)	Ecologia: Women, Environment and Politics in Venezuela, in: RADCLIFFE, Sarah A and WESTWOOD, Sallie (eds) **"Viva" Women and Popular Protest in Latin America**, Routledge, London.65-87
GARCIA GUADILLA María Pilar (1986)	La Experiencia Venezolana con los Polos de Desarrollo:¿Un Fracaso del Modelo Teórico, de la Institución Planificadora o del Estilo de Planificación?, **Cuadernos de la Sociedad Venezolana de Planificación**, 162.
ROZSAVOLQUI, Paula de (1976)	Role of Women in Latin America, in: **Literacy Discussion**, 6, 4, 103-118. (includes literacy programmes in Venezuela)

ANNOTATIONS

General

CATANZARITE, Lisa (1992) Gender, Education and Employment in Central America: Whose Work Counts?, in: STROMQUIST, N (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 67-84.

This chapter examines the relationship between education and work. Although the association between them tends indeed to be positive, Catanzarite shows this is true only of formal , not informal, service occupations. Within the formal sector the association is not strictly linear; rather, a curvilinear pattern emerges as women with both high and low levels of education tend to participate more than those with in-between levels.

Theories of female participation tend to assume that women are dependent on men's wages and that their participation in the labour force is essentially a question of aspirations and opportunity cost calculations. Catanzarite argues instead that for poor women work is a necessity for family survival. Therefore, at that level, the association between education and work is irrelevant. Further, women in the informal sector -regardless of educational level- are paid less than men. These findings are important because the informal sector is expanding and women's participation in it is already greater than men's. In addition, educated women tend to have more stable employment than uneducated women., but many educated women end up in the informal sector of the economy.

Catanzarite´s study calls for a reformulation of economic theory to include women's particular role in family survival. It challenges the notion that education will facilitate women's incorporation into the labour force and generate greater income. Neither of these claims is true when women face unstable employment, a strong feature of informal-sector participation. In consequence, the improvement of women's conditions lies not in greater education but in the improvement of wages and the creation of more stable jobs for women, many of whom find their incorporation in the labour force precarious. (Stromquist)

FINK, Marcy(1992) Women and Popular Education in Latin America, in: STROMQUIST, N (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 171-193.

Marcy Fink´s chapter examines the concept of nonformal education and particularly "popular education". It maps both conceptually and descriptively the features and achievements of popular education-a type of education that is expanding and becoming more refined in Latin America and yet remains relatively unknown in the United States.

In a detailed description of popular education programs, Fink notes the variety they offer in characteristics, content, and strategies. Notwithstanding this variability, they all share the objectives of providing women an educational alternative to that provided by the formal educational system, which tends to be prescriptive of women's traditional norms and roles. Whether using games, theatre, or more common didactic approaches, popular education for women seeks their acquisition of emancipatory skills.

Fink provides various arguments to support the case that adult women's education must be central in the process of social transformation. It must affect domestic relations and mothers in them. Intervening for adult women will accelerate the process of social change by creating a new socialisation process for children, by encouraging mothers to reduce their enforcement of the sexual division of labour at home, and by evincing new forms of questioning of male power, thereby renegotiating domestic relations.

This chapter also highlights the major tensions within popular education. A key weakness so far has been the **lack of linkage between local activities and social policy**. Yet from a feminist perspective, this may also be a strength. By conducting work in areas in which the state does not intervene, popular education has opened spaces for contestation that will make the state respond not by policy but through the acceptance of new issues. (Stromquist)

RADCLIFFE, Sarah A. and WESTWOOD, Sallie (eds.) (1993) **"Viva": Women and Popular Protest in Latin America**, Routledge, London and New York.

Powerful grassroots movements in Latin America are demanding fundamental social and political change to a continent which has seen revolutionary governments, authoritarian dictatorships and reformist military administrations. Through their active involvement women are seen for the first time as integral to the process of democratisation. Yet these women are not a simple unity with shared aims; class and ethnicity create division.

"Viva" explores the growing role of women in the formal and informal politics of the countries of Latin America. Through contemporary case studies, the contributors examine how gender-politics in the region is institutionalised in a variety of spheres varying from the state to local groups. The book focuses in particular on the role of the state in the construction of gender, questioning whether the emergence of women's activism and agendas represent a fundamental shift away from the historical marginalization of women from politics. The centrality of gender, class and ethnicity in the ideological construction of "the nation" is discussed.

Following an initial chapter by the editors on "Gender, Racism and the Politics of Identities in Latin America", this book contains a series of country based examinations of particular feminist issues such as: the gendering of consciousness; women and the environment; links with the Catholic church; popular education; community development; the cultural contribution of women; linking the modern with the traditional; the politics of protest.
The country case studies range across: Brazil, Chile, Ecuador , El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru.

SCHMUKLER, Beatriz(1992) Women and the Microsocial Democratisation of Everyday Life, in: STROMQUIST, N (ed)(1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 251-276.

Parents, particularly low-income parents, have little power and ability to negotiate the education of their children. This disadvantage is suffered essentially by women, who as mothers are expected to be the ones to supervise the education of children, or at least to become more involved in it than are their husbands.

In this chapter, Beatriz Schmukler discusses the careful although fragile construction of a space where parents can negotiate and renegotiate educational services and practices with school authorities. Although these parent-school authority transactions occur mostly in the area of democratising participation, they concern gender issues in two ways. First, the democratisation of school practices involves mothers more than fathers because mothers must respond to the social norm that they are responsible for their children. Second, as some parents negotiate new relations with school authorities, such as the creation of student centres that could foster more student discretion, they are opposed by other parents who are concerned with the morality of their daughters and want to keep traditional authoritarian practices in schools. Schmukler describes an experiment that was intended to increase the flexibility of key actors in the educational system: parents, teachers, and school authorities. She discusses the limits of participation-the school challenges the possible contributions of mothers as educators and seeks collaboration only for the purpose of facilitating the school's task. A school's call for participation will fail because teachers differentiate also among parents, the good parents being those whose children have no problems. Thus, those more likely to have legitimate demands upon the school are disqualified from participation. Further, mothers continue to think in narrow, immediate family terms. Schools fragment parental participation, so these women have little opportunity to organise themselves autonomously. Hard-to-break authoritarian patterns of school and the fact that mothers are the main interlocutors make it even more difficult because mothers are expected to support, not question, the socialisation of their children. As children move up the educational ladder, the role of mothers becomes further limited because they are seen as resources to avoid school failure. Mothers are doubly subordinated (because of class and gender) by school authorities to act as socialisation agents for children, and this presumes that mothers accept the school's messages. The study by Schmukler shows that it is possible for mothers to participate and to become more aware of their rights regarding the education of their children. Yet this participation is fraught with self-doubt and requires mothers to confront behaviours by school, authorities and teachers that circumscribe participation to a few aspects of the educational setting. (Stromquist)

STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London

This book is the prime text on women, education and development in Latin America, or at least within the medium of English. It is a collective *tour de force* ranging across several key areas of concern and a fair proportion of the countries within the region. Many of the chapters form the basis of individual annotations below, but here we will concentrate on the structure of book and the introduction by the editor.

Apart from the introduction, the thirteen chapters comprising this book are grouped into four parts: education, the state and the economy; women and the formal education system; adult women and formal educational efforts; making changes. Overall the book explores the role of education -broadly defined - in reproducing inequality and sexual divisions of labour, and finds the cause of women's inferior situation to be both ideological and material. Central to the book, and relevant to the emerging process of redemocratisation, is the point that knowledge can be used to contest and transform meaning and thus to question existing authority and create new power.

The editorial introduction acknowledge that the Latin American region exhibits a greater degree of social and economic development than most other zones of the so-called 'developing' world. In broad terms, regional and national statistics show a situation near to gender parity as far as education -or at least schooling- is concerned, though a tendency for gender related curricular experiences remains. Perhaps this apparent equality is the reason for the paucity of literature on gender and education in this region? Educational opportunity does not necessarily resolve other forms of gender based disadvantage where, as the author puts it: "the subordination of women is anchored in both ideological and material conditions". The widening of educational opportunities under state control merely extends that control.

In such a situation, Stromquist asks: "When are spaces or opportunities created in the educational system for the introduction of emancipatory gender ideas? " In fact nonformal education is well developed in Latin America where it is known as "educación popular" and the mobilisation of women through participation in such a form of emancipation is a move towards democracy.

The editor concludes that: "Women are doing much better than before in terms of access to education and years of education attained, but problematical situations remain in several areas: content of curriculum materials; the social and organisational arrangements used in schools, classrooms and teachers' unions; the presence of women in teachers unions; women's literacy rates; and the design and scope of nonformal educational programs".

STROMQUIST, Nelly (1992) Women and Literacy in Latin America, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London,19-32.

As compared with the other two mayor regions of the so-called 'developing world', Latin America has enjoyed considerably more educational expansion in the post 1950 period. With most countries of the region having been independent for nearly 200 years, and despite periods of constraint on public education, strong policies on the provision of schooling have made UPE a reachable target within a generation and USE is also close in several countries. There is also a large and significant tertiary sector in regional terms.

And yet Latin America exhibits some major problems of literacy when one examines the situation on a smaller scale. The gender gap, almost imperceptible on macro aggregated figures suddenly becomes a chasm in certain contextual circumstances, for example in the poor rural areas and in the favellas and barrios of the big cities: in short, whenever poverty is widespread and entrenched. As the author puts it: "Clearly the elimination of illiteracy among women will necessitate the elimination of poverty, and the redefinition of women's role in society".

Literacy programmes have been a feature of Latin American countries since the days of José Vasconcelos at least, but many of them have merely confirmed the *status quo* due to their content and *modus operandi*. In the poorest areas the educational experiences of everybody are severely limited and: "It is clear that the condition of women's literacy is tied to the condition of men's literacy, which in turn is affected mostly by poverty and social class location". Because most work on poverty fails to identify sexual dichotomy, because total population data are used, the additional contrasts on females caused by traditional roles and cultural restrictions are rendered invisible. Government literacy programmes have tended to be very traditional in that they concentrate on language issues, failing to work from social realities to generate conversations.

With respect to the situation of women in Latin America, unless the problem is perceived from certain directions, appropriate solutions cannot be imagined. Illiteracy problems of women are situated at the cross-roads of class and gender subordination, and resolution of these problems must start from there. To do otherwise would be to deny meaning to literacy exercises and fail to motivate poor women.

Individual Countries

Argentina

BONDER, Gloria (1992) Altering Sexual Stereotypes Through Teacher Training, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 229-249.

Teachers, as an integral part of educational settings, play a key role in the transmission of gender ideologies. Through everyday actions, notions of femininity and masculinity are shaped, strengthened, and transmitted. Teachers have been the targets of many change efforts, usually through systematic efforts designed to produce attitudinal change. In this chapter, Bonder reviews the studies on sexual stereotypes in Argentine textbooks and then gives a detailed account of one carefully conceived intervention that, although time-intensive, was not expensive in terms of the resources required. That this intervention took place in Argentina, a country with a strong belief in its gender progressiveness, makes it all the more interesting because the intervention confronted its participants with evidence of inequality and subordination that contradicted prevailing perceptions of gender equality in that society. The intervention, in the hands of a skilful psychologist, shows that well-conceived treatments- even though brief in comparison to the whole of experiences and situations that women teachers undergo in their everyday life- can be powerful in creating modified perceptions and attitudes. The in-service training implemented by Bonder also shows that technologies such as audiocassettes can be used effectively to provide stimuli for group discussion and that these group discussions can result in significant and stable changes among the participants.

An additional important contribution made by Bonder lies in the identification of the fears and conflicts that emerged among women teachers as they moved from a traditional to a more progressive, emancipatory view of gender relations. As described in her study, concerns about engaging in "a war between the sexes", creating domestic conflicts, and losing their "power in the domestic sphere" were troubling the teachers as they went on to implement changes in their individual lives. One inference from this is that women cannot readily change; in their everyday practice they will encounter transactions with men and family that make them unhappy and uncertain about the new terrain they are entering. Bonder´s study, when juxtaposed with that of Sara -Lafosse, suggests that students in both coeducational schools and single-sex schools may be facing teachers who are themselves very uncertain about altering their own notions of femininity and masculinity.(Stromquist).

BRASLAVSKY, Cecilia (1992) Educational Legitimation of Women's Economic Subordination in Argentina, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 47-66.

Braslavsky´s study combines census data and survey data. Her analysis of macrolevel census data is juxtaposed with the current socio-economic structure and the social functions of education. She connects the presence of sex stereotypes in textbooks to the existence of social norms about women's proper role at home and in society.

Although Argentina has extremely high levels of women participating in education, Braslavsky explains that their participation in a school system that continues to present images of women as passive and devoted to home and family has not eroded the existence of a type of domesticity that functions to exclude women from the public sphere. Her cross-sectional research, which observes students at two points in their high school experience- the first and the last year of studies- provides evidence of disparate academic achievement, depending on the socio-economic status of the school's student body. Although low-income students seem to be slightly more aware than their high-income peers of inequalities in society, all students tend to believe that individual characteristics determine academic success. The egalitarian myth, then, is strong at the individual level, and girls tend to endorse it even more than do boys.

The comparison between first-year and fifth-year students does not reveal a definite pattern in the perceptions of school failure and value orientations of students, which leads Braslavsky to conclude that the five-year school experience does not substantially modify the distribution of perceptions based on gender and socio-economic positions students bring to school.(Stromquist)

Bolivia

HEALY, Kevin (1991) Animating Grassroots Development: Women's Popular Education in Bolivia, in: **Grassroots Development**, 15, 1, 26-34.

This article has to do with the work of CIMCA(*Capacitación Integral de la Mujer Campesina*), a grassroots organisation founded in 1982 by Evelyn Barron and Rita Murillo. Its style was influenced by the work of Vasconcelo and Freire, taking the form of a *ratafolio*: that is to say, a mobile 'civics programme' based on popular experience and animated by the use of puppets, dramas and other visuals. Throughout the 1980s the indigenous population suffered especially severely due to the level of male migration to urban areas, leaving mothers, wives, sisters behind to eke out a living from small family farms.

The project director at that time, Evelyn Barron, insisted that: "women are the great untapped resource in Latin America, but are limited to agricultural occupations", but she was under no illusions as to the level of official interest in CIMCA, observing that: "we are setting our chance because almost everything else has failed". Indeed the aim of CIMCA from the outset was to move away from aid-based development towards self-help and empowerment. The project leaders and workers invested directly in people and under-utilised facilities (such as church halls). Working out of Oruro they established many locations of activity, touring by van and identifying *educadora popular* "a popular education capable of promoting community development". Young single women were the desired trainees.

There was some male backlash to contend with, especially as the movement gained a foothold inside the traditional peasant organisations, and the women acquired a stronger self-image. The contents of the *rotafolio* were products of local workshops, the effort "channelling anger at the recognition of systematic discrimination towards a search for effective remedial action". In effect they were creating "participatory institutes at the base of society to ensure that democracy becomes more than a hollow word".

Brazil

ROSEMBERG, Fulvia (1992) Education Democratisation and Inequality in Brazil, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 33-46.

A consequence of powerlessness is not being able to attract research attention to problems one considers important. In the case of women, many important educational issues remain understudied. Yet as Rosemberg´s study shows, available census data can be analysed to understand gender conditions. Her study further explores the intersection between gender and ethnicity, a phenomenon especially relevant in a country such as Brazil.

Women have been gaining increased access to education in that country, and they now represent fully half of all students,. Inequalities emerge in years of educational attainment of men and women, in fields of study pursued by the two genders, and in the remuneration similar levels of education produce for men and women.
These findings are well known in the context of other countries. Rosemberg´s contribution resides in showing that the gender hierarchy- at least in the Brazilian context- is subordinate to the race hierarchy. The inferior remuneration of women versus men is more pronounced than that of blacks versus whites, an intrigue outcome given the fact that blacks as a group attend poorest schools than whites. Without access to more direct data, we can only assume that society determines the values regardless of actual training and that women learn, through schooling and other social experiences, not to question monetary rewards. That this phenomenon occurs in other countries on the region is suggested by a study by David Post (1990), which found that girls in Peru across all social classes expected to earn less than boys. (Stromquist)

VIVEROS, Elena (1992) Vocational Training and Job Opportunities for Women in Northeast of Brazil, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 195-226.

This qualitative study provides a glimpse of the gender construction processes operating within nonformal education programs. Through interviews with school personnel and the personal perspectives of four students in a computer programming course, shows how the program, family messages, and internalised social expectations combine to reaffirm women in their traditional roles as women and future wives.

Of special interest is how a new field, such computers programming in the context of North-eastern, quickly become defined in such a manner that better rewarded positions go to men. That both men and women receive training in computer science does not prevent employers from offering different jobs to men and women graduates of these programs. Thus men are promptly defined as "programmers" and women as "word processors technicians". Confronted with stale definitions of women abilities, the women graduates from this program express disappointment at their limited chances for finding appropriate and well-remunerated employment; at the same time, they also show a willingness to accept the conditions in which they live and to give priority to family and marriage plans.

In the end, a new occupational field that can be equally filled by women and men is recast so that it fits existing perceptions of femininity and masculinity. This suggests that the introduction of technologies is not necessarily accompanied by shifts in gender and social relations. (Stromquist)

Chile

VALDES, Ximena (1992) The Women´s Rural School: An Empowering Educational Experience, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 277-302.

This chapter by Ximena Valdes offers a firsthand account of the evolution of an educational intervention with low-income women in Chile. It depicts how what started as brief gender-consciousness sessions gradually became redesigned into a rural women's school to provide its participants the space and time needed for an effective reflection of their situation as women and workers.

This account details the strategic decisions that program designers had to make in order to serve women effectively. Working with women who were so heavily involved in domestic and remunerated work activities made it necessary to take them to a new setting (the rural school) for four-day meetings over a six-month period. Pedagogically, it was felt that the identification of labour demands by the women would be a good starting point for the discussion of their subordination in society. Because the low-income women tended to combine work and family issues in their perception of personal problems, the program designers had to create homogeneous groups along lines of occupational interest.

Valdes shows that this popular education program, in terms of creating a critical understanding and new visions among the participants, was successful. However, two major problems were encountered: first, the tension the women developed between solving immediate economic problems and addressing longer-term social change; second, the tendency among the participants to engage in collective action and to adopt a feminist discourse while attending the rural school, but to encounter difficulties in continuing such practices upon return to their communities. The resolution of these tensions calls for supportive measures in the social and economic arenas of the country as a whole, a condition beyond the program designers´ control. Although the popular education program will go on, its developers raise questions about the opportunities that may emerge now that Chile has a democratic regime.(Stromquist)

Costa Rica

MENDIOLA, Haydée M (1992) Gender Inequalities and the Expansion of Higher Education in Costa Rica STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 125-145.

This chapter examines the changes in the participation of women in higher education that derive from a major expansion of the university system in Costa Rica. This rich quantitative study compares enrolment changes over a seven-year interval and traces university graduates as they join the labour force.

Mendiola finds no changes in the participation rates of men and women as new types of universities are created. This supports findings detected in other countries, namely that as more men seek higher education, so too do more women. The principle of homogenous marriage may be at work, a concept that deserves further consideration.

A positive result from the expansion of university education is that women tend to increase their chances of completing their studies and moving into a more diversified set of fields of study. On the other hand, women from upper classes are the ones who move into the new fields, including nonconventional fields for women.

The Costa Rican data also show that access to higher education does not result in the same benefits for men and women. Different types of educational institutions produce different levels of financial compensation in the labour force for their graduates, an effect that is more marked among women than among men.
In all, the chapter warns us that the process of social and gender stratification is an enduring one and that university expansion alone does not significantly alter the field-of-study choices and income of lower sectors of society.(Stromquist)

Mexico

CORTINA, Regina (1989) Women as Leaders in Mexican Education, in: **Comparative Education Review,** 33, 3, 357-376.

In Mexico the late nineteenth century creation of teacher training colleges was accompanied by new opportunities for women. By 1907 nearly 80 per cent of normal school students were female, though partly because of this there were very few women in the universities. Nearly a century later, the majority of Mexican teachers are women, though positions of authority and power still tend to reside with men. This is because gender differences have been institutionalised in teacher education and employment.

Within Mexican public education, women are concentrated in the lower tier of the system. Even though over 30 per cent of university students are female, they tend to be found in traditionally 'female' fields such as liberal arts, teaching, nursing and social work. There is a firmly rooted prejudice that "women who study are a bad investment for the state", and the kinds of socio-cultural premises created lead to the dropout of a significant number of female workers even in these welfare-oriented areas.

Within all this, the one sure avenue for women is teaching. Even a proportion of the Mexican female elite hold a normal school degree, but normal school has never enjoyed the status of the high schools - the route to universities - and dominated by men. This was institutionalised subordination.

The article moves on to address the relationship between gender inequality and educational employment. Even the high percentage of school principals who are female does not mean that a critical mass of women in the educational system has real power. Over the last 50 years, the author claims that: "the expansion of jobs for middle class women in teaching in Mexico has been closely linked to the implementation of access to education for more and more children". Even the teacher training sector has been feminised but few women hold managerial positions in it, a phenomenon that :"cannot be explained without understanding how the private and public worlds of women interact in their lives as teachers".

In order to probe into this issue the author interviewed 22 successful female teachers and 21 successful male teachers -all but 2 of the 43 were trained in the public sector. It was found that barriers to female advancement were partly due to institutionalised prejudices in the educational system and indeed the profession, and partly due to the demands of family responsibility. Nonetheless Cortina concludes that women in education in Mexico form a privileged group among Mexican women in general, there being strong Union support and genuinely equal pay. Further decentralization might devolve more power to women in the profession, but those private family responsibilities, still unequally shared between men and women, will continue to be a constraint on many potential leaders.

CORTINA, REGINA (1992) Gender and Power in the Teachers´Union in Mexico, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 107-124.

Women represent the largest group among primary school teachers in many countries of the world. Although this means that potentially they could play a decisive role within their profession, this is in fact seldom the case.

A case study of the participation of women teachers as union members and leaders is provided in Cortina´s chapter. Through her examination of the National Union of Education Workers in Mexico, the largest union and unquestionably one of the most powerful in Mexico, Cortina explains how the high participation of women in union membership has not been reflected in leadership positions. This situation is complex and results not only from women's self-exclusion based on prevailing norms of "virtuous women" who must refrain from meeting with men in awkward settings, but also from women's everyday constraints as they feel responsible for the domestic life of their families. The limitations women face are further fostered by the male leadership of unions that, consciously or unconsciously, draws upon women's norms of passivity and devotion to gear their involvement into supportive activities for the union. Thus, women's units in the union ironically end up playing social auxiliary roles rather than providing substantive political input. The recent demise of the women's units, however, might also signal a defensive response on the part of male leadership to preclude the emergence of effective space for women. Cortina´s qualitative investigation provides insights into how gender as a system of power relations contributes to maintain political structures and social inequalities. Women teachers show little knowledge of the female leaders representing them; female leaders, in turn, show little awareness of feminist ideas or of the need to address problems salient among women. Thus, reproduction of the status quo continues. (Stromquist)

Peru

SARA-LAFOSSE, Violeta, (1992) Coeducational Settings and Educational and Social Outcomes in Peru, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 87-105.

The study by Sara-Lafosse is unusual in that it considers benefits other than academic achievement for the development of boys and girls in Schools. Her findings have to be appreciated in the context of a Latin society that is *machista* in nature and in which strong beliefs about the sexual division of labour prevail.

Research in other countries indicates that boys tend to benefit from both single-sex and coeducational schools. They accrue benefit under both settings from the preferential treatment they tend to receive from both men and women techers. Research that controls for factors such as socio-economic status has also shown that in some countries girls register greater gains in academic achievement when they attend single-sex schools.

Although coeducational schools may be in some instances detrimental to girl´s cognitive growth and may send hidden curricula messages reinforcing women's subordination, particularly through the modelling of men in important administrative positions, the coexistence of girls and boys in settings defined as serious and formal tends to reduce the myths of masculinity and femininity that set the genders apart from each other.

Sara-Lafosse´s study shows that students perceptions of equal abilities by both sexes along a wide range of dimensions (intellectual to artistic) tend to be higher among students with substantial exposure to coeducational schooling than among those whose experience has been limited mostly to single-sex schools. Her data also show that levels of aggression- and essential feature of *machista* behaviour- and the belief that housework is solely a woman´s task diminish for boys in coeducational schools. For those who think of the many virtues in single-sex schooling, Sara-Lafosse presents a view of other gains that accrue when there is a more open contact between male and female students. (Stromquist)

STROMQUIST, Nelly P (1992) Feminist Reflections on the Politics of the Peruvian University, in: STROMQUIST, Nelly (ed) (1992) **Women and Education in Latin America. Knowledge, Power and Change,** Lynne Rienner, London, 147-167.

This chapter examines a highly politicized university setting in order to detect the extent to which feminist currents have had an impact on the curriculum or the sociopolitical agenda of the university. In Peru, university students are highly sensitive to the questions of social, economic, and ethnic inequalities in the rest of the society- a feature that long has characterized them. This sensitivity to social disparities, unfortunately, has not been extended to gender issues.

Despite the fact that several fields have a large female enrollment and that women participate to a moderate degree in university politics, the political agenda is defined in the Marxist context of a class struggle, with feminist concerns dismissed as petty bourgeois. Women students who seek acceptance must then suppress these concerns.

Stromquist discusses the various factors that account for the low attention to gender issues in the university. Salient among these issues is the strong reliance on Marxist as a theoretical framework. Because it emphasizes the mode of production rather than the interplay between production and reproduction, this framework is compatible with existing patriarchal ideologies that leave little space for the development of a feminist agenda.

In conscience, politics at the university channels students activism into protecting the disadvantaged groups of society, yet it categorizes these people essentially in terms of their occupational roles as workers and peasants, not as gendered social actors. Ironically, although Peru has a well-developed feminist movement, with several large and stable groups and sustained publications, neither the university programs nor the activities within it reflects gender-related concerns. (Stromquist)

TROPICAL ÍSLANDS

ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN

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ISLANDS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

INDIVIDUAL ISLANDS

MAURITIUS

Gender

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ANNOTATIONS

TROPICAL ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN

Individual Countries

Jamaica

MILLER, Errol 1986 **Marginalisation of the Black Male: insights from the Development of the Teaching Profession**, ISER, U.W.I.

Unlike many of the other countries in this Bibliography, Jamaica has a good record in girls' education; in fact the girls out-perform the boys. Girls out-number boys in traditional high, private high and comprehensive high schools, all of which enjoy higher social status and are seen as more effective agents of upward social mobility than the new secondary schools where boys out-number girls. Among Jamaican full-time degree students at the University of the West Indies in 1984-85 females out-numbered males (53.9% to 46.1%), although not in mathematics or physical sciences. The teaching profession is predominantly female (87.3% in primary & all-age schools; 65.9% in secondary schools) although men do hold a disproportionate number of head-teacher posts in the school system. In this book Errol Miller examines the evolution of the teaching profession and the teacher-training colleges in Jamaica and, with particular reference to the effects of the last decade of the nineteenth century, advances the hypothesis that-

> "Primary school teaching and teacher education shifted from being male dominated to being female dominated as a result of the intention of the ruling class to release black men from service type occupations to make them available for agricultural & industrial labour, and to stifle the possible emergence of militant black educated men who could possibly overthrow the power structure", (p73).

Miller argues that as result, a fundamental shift in socialization orientation took place during the 1900-1956 period:

> "Because of the fundamental influence of the primary school and the teachers' college on black rural life, the change of opportunity from boy to girl, from son to daughter (in terms of educational opportunity & middle class employment prospects in teaching) brought about a significant change in the socialization of boys & girls," (p.70)

Black girls began to achieve more educationally than boys and this phenonomen continues today, contributing to the marginalisation of the black male. Jamaica is one of the few countries in the world, as Miller points out, in which there are more illiterate men than women in the population.

Miller outlines a similar pattern in the institutional provision for high schooling which favoured girls in the post-war and post-Independence period, in his book Jamaican Society and High Schooling (1990) q.v., Chapter Seven.

Jamaica

LEO-RHYNIE, Elsa 'Gender issues in education and implications for Labour force participation', in K. HART (Ed) **Women and the sexual division of labour in the Caribbean**, U.W.I., Jamaica, 1989, p. 81-97.

Whilst Errol Miller (q.v.) argues his theory of the marginalisation of the black male, Elsa Leo-Rhynie points out that access to high school education and gender/subject choice orientation are two features of the Jamaican system of education which reveal gender difference and discrimination against girls. She shows how in the selection examination for high schools "lower-scoring boys are awarded places for which higher-scoring girls are better qualified", (p.84). Although girls perform better on entry to secondary school, it is disturbing that there is a tendency for them to make sex-stereotyped choices in the opportunities offered in secondary education. Even in academic streams more girls chose biology and more boys do physics. At 'A' level, entries for girls have been higher in the arts & for boys in science even though overall girls continue to have higher pass rates. Interestingly, girls of comparable socio-economic status attending single-sex and co-educational schools have been shown to have differing examination entry and performance rates: girls in girls' schools entered for more subjects and were more successful than girls in co-educational schools. Despite the worry of the alienation of boys, many of whom tend to truant or not to achieve at the expected levels, and despite the undeniable academic success of girls, the author stresses that there are still problems as far as girls are concerned. One is that of the high teenage pregnancy rate. The other is the self-image which girls develop despite their success in school, resulting in sex-stereotyped choices of courses and jobs. There is moreover clear gender differentiation in the work force: the majority of women are in lower status and lower paid jobs. (See also Hamilton, M. and Leo-Rhynie, E., 1984)

PACIFIC ISLANDS

GENERAL

TONGAMOA, Taiamoni (Ed.) (1988) **Pacific Women: roles and status of women in Pacific Societies**, University of the South Pacific, Fiji.

This small book (104pp) is useful as an introduction to the present-day situation of women in the South Pacific and offers chapters on Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. Studies represent the personal views of women who have grown up in the islands. Each chapter follows the same pattern: first there is a general introduction to the role & status of women in the particular island group which covers such aspects as traditional custom, legal status, employment, education & politics, etc. This is followed by four case studies and then a discussion of the findings. The women chosen for the case studies represent a range of experience: urban & rural, literate and illiterate, employed and unemployed, living a traditional life-style or working as a trained professional.

Tongamoa, in her Overview (Chapter 6), points out that such is the cultural diversity among the various Pacific societies, that it is impossible to generalise very far about the cultural patterns, practices & activities relating to women. In the past, the seemingly unfair division of labour and the relatively low status of women were not points of complaint:

> "The islanders were not conscious of any competition between men and women, because they perceived their ascribed and traditional roles and responsibilities as being divinely sanctioned & unchangeable, to be carried out for the benefit of everybody in the family and the community", (p89).

Since contact with Western culture however, the established co-existence of females and males in traditional Pacific societies has become a point of controversy. The unequal division of labour in particular has been questioned by educated women. Some of the women surveyed were reluctant to accept change but the case studies reveal that women are increasingly involved in formal education, employment and politics. Education and jobs give women more independence not only from men but also from their kin networks and lead towards increased individualism. In this context, says Tongamoa, "economic independence causes a reorganisation of traditional structures", (p91). In community-based societies like those of the Pacific Islands, the effect is all the more significant.

Vanuatu

CAMMISH, Nadine K. (1994) 'Island daughters: factors affecting the education girls in Vanuatu', **Compare**, 24 (2), p.139-155.

Although there are many anthropological studies on the Melanesian women of Vanuatu, very little has been written about gender and education in the islands apart from this article. Based on fieldwork which formed part of an ODA sponsored study *Female participation in education in six developing countries* (Brock and Cammish, 1991/4, q.v.), it examines the geographical, socio-cultural, health, economic, legal and politico-administrative factors which affect girls' participation in education and also looks at factors arising from within the education system itself. Census data, figures from the Ministry of Education and results from the fieldwork survey of primary six pupils' perceptions about girls' education provide useful documentation not easily available elsewhere. The evidence shows that the urban/rural dichotomy which marks girls' access to education in many developing countries, is particularly strong in Vanuatu as is the core/periphery syndrome: remoteness affects both the availability and accessibility of schooling, and preserves traditional socio-cultural attitudes. Primary 6 girls in Port Vila, the tiny capital, confidently expect to go to secondary school & to get jobs in banks and offices. Those living on remoter islands may not even go to school at all, even when one is available: tradition assigns them to working in subsistence agriculture.

Despite problems of accessibility of schools and the traditional low status of girls in Vanuatu, however, the percentage of them enrolling in Primary School *has* increased rapidly over the last few years and more girls are staying on longer. Between 1979 and 1989 the percentage of girls who had completed 6 or more years of education rose from 54% to 70%. At the secondary level however, the limited number of junior secondary places available, added to problems of distance & accessibility, would seem to preclude any rapid extension of secondary education for either sex, but some new schools are being built.

INDIAN OCEAN

Individual Countries

Mauritius

MINISTRY of WOMEN, FAMILY WELFARE and CHILD DEVELOPMENT (1996) **A Statistical Profile on Women in the Republic of Mauritius**, Government of Mauritius, Mauritius.

When one has laboured, sometimes in vain, in other developing countries, to find statistics relating to the female part of the population, it is a delight to find the necessary basic information gathered together in one slim volume (49 pp). Information is available for the

Republic as a whole and in disaggregrated form for Mauritius and Rodrigues. The statistics cover population by age and sex, females by age and marital status, marriage and divorce, birth and fertility, and death and life expectancy. There is full and useful information on education: illiteracy rates, nursery/primary/secondary enrolment figures by age and sex, examination passes and percentage of women teachers by level 1988-94. The section on employment gives figures for the main occupations in the islands and details of social benefits. There are also tables on employees in Government Services by Ministry & by sex, and on the electorate and elected representatives. This is a very useful source of reference and is available from the Ministry concerned.

Seychelles

BENEDICT, M & B (1984) **Men, Women and Money in Seychelles**, California Press, Berkley and Los Angeles.

Little is available on gender, education & development in Seychelles. A forth-coming publication on girls' participation in education was unfortunately not ready in time to include it in this Bibliography but there is an up-to-date study by Maryse Roberts National Report on the Situation of Women in Seychelles (q.v.) covering women's present-day status and legal rights, obtainable from the Seychelles National Gender Unit. The publications of Burton Benedict, spanning over twenty-five years, have analysed the whole social fabric of the Seychelles but this 1984 publication examines in particular male/female domestic relationships. Only Part 2 of the book, by Burton Benedict himself, is considered in this annotation.

Benedict discusses the matricentred nature of the traditional Seychellois family structure and explores the roots of the traditions in the history of slavery and employment in the islands. In later chapters his research data enables him to make detailed comparisons between 1960 and 1975 for employment, class & mobility, domestic expenditure, etc. He argues that: "Money symbolises relations between the sexes over the course of the life cycle", (p182). He goes on to say that, "In Seychelles a man is a male with money. A male without money is not a man but a dependant, a boy, a sponger, a dotard", (p183) and again: "a woman is a female with children, just as a man is a male with money", (p201). Commenting on the traditional arrangements in poorer households, he points out that-

> "The pattern of expenditure found in the so-called matrifocal households of the lower economic class does not really indicate that women are in charge. It simply means that virtually all money has to be spent on subsistence. Once the wages rise above subsistence level, the men take over", (p216).

Chapter 19 deals in detail with marriage and concubinage (known in Seychelles as living *en ménage*), and explores the attitudes of men and women to one another in various kinship groups. For those who are in marriage or *en ménage* relationships, Benedict emphasises that sexual relations entail obligations of maintenance both in monetary terms & in terms of domestic labour. Failure to fulfil these obligations leads to fights. The concept of "household" has a certain fluidity in that a Seychellois man may be a "member" of more than one household in terms of recognising financial obligations to other households containing parents, children, siblings, or lovers, (p250). Women's family networks (chapter 20) are strong and operate apart from and to some extent against men:

> "Men are necessary to support [them] with their earnings, but they enter into[them] only peripherally as brothers and sons, scarcely at all as fathers and husbands", (p260).

Men and women's very differing roles often bring them into conflict: a woman needs a man's earning capacity and a man needs a woman's domestic services but in the Seychelles context these needs can conflict rather than being complementary.

Although Benedict's data relates to the 1960-75 period, his analysis is useful for an understanding of the traditions underlying life in Seychelles today. It is also interesting as a basis for comparing the Seychelles with islands in the Caribbean in terms of the role and status of women and the academic success of girls in the education system.

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